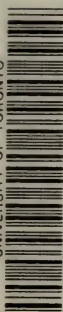


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

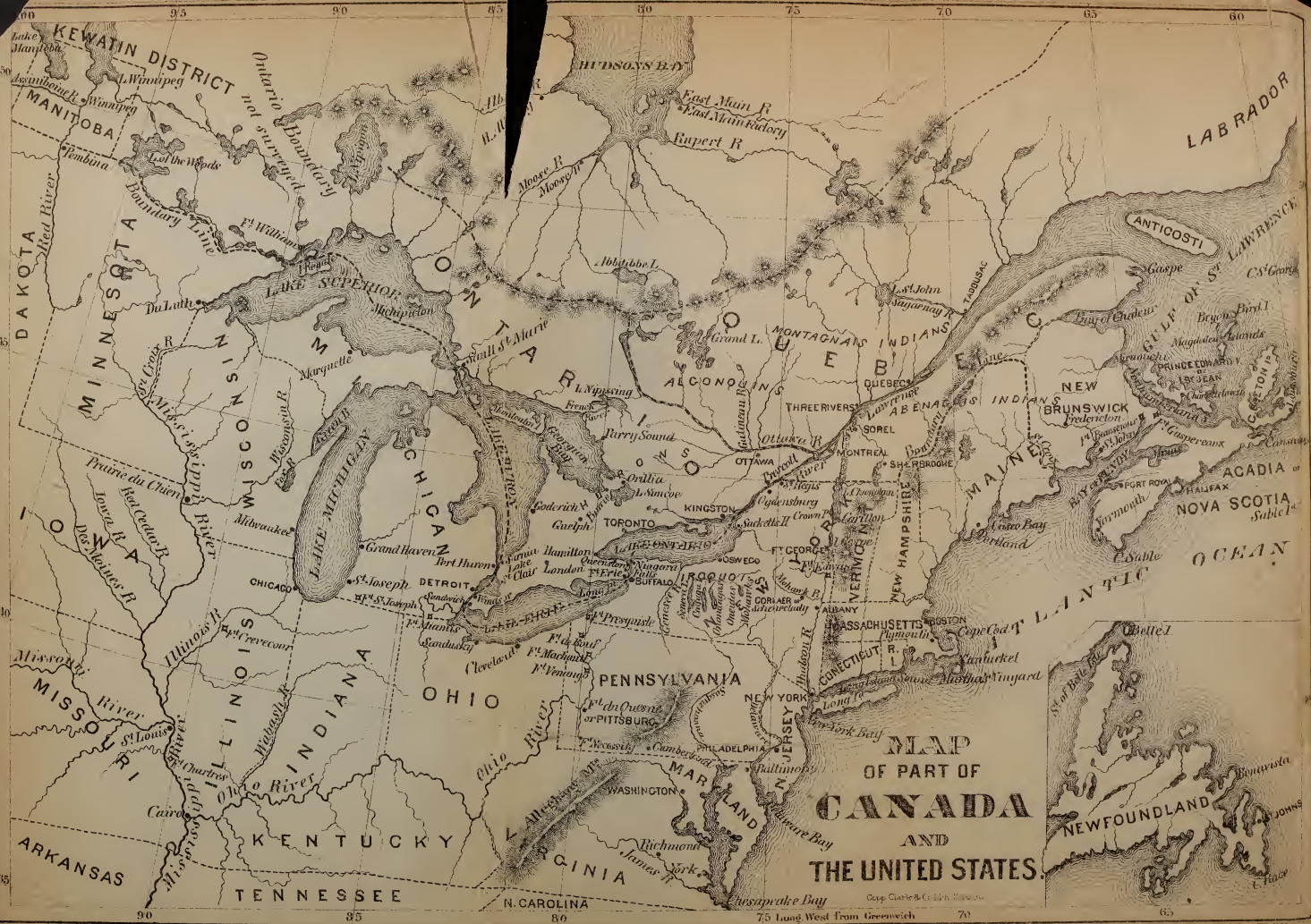


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A

HISTORY OF CANADA

For the Use of Schools

AND GENERAL READERS.

BY

WILLIAM H. WITHROW, M.A.

"Consider what nation it is whereof ye are ; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit ; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point that human capacity can soar to."

MILTON—" *Areopagitica*."

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PREFACE.

THE preparation of a compendious history of his native country has been for years the cherished purpose of the writer. After long-continued and careful labour, in which no pains have been spared, that purpose is at length accomplished.

In the earlier portion of this history the author has studied compression so far as was consistent with sufficient clearness, in order to be able to give in fuller detail an account of the more recent and important events leading to and following the confederation of the British North American provinces. The growth of the principles of civil liberty and the development of the Canadian Constitution, will, it is hoped, be found impartially traced in these pages. The social, commercial and military, as well as the political aspects of Canadian history, have been treated as fully as the necessary limits of space would permit.

While the narrative interest has centred chiefly in the provinces now known as Ontario and Quebec, the contemporary history of the sister maritime provinces, and of the newer provinces of the North-west and the Pacific coast, has been given as fully, yet succinctly, as possible. The contemporary history of the empire and of foreign countries, where it was intimately connected with that of Canada, has been interwoven with the text.

The writer has made copious use of the best existing sources of information, embracing original documents in French and English, parliamentary reports, newspaper files

representing the views of all political parties, and many printed volumes. He has endeavoured to observe strict impartiality, and trusts that he has been able to do so, even in treading upon the delicate ground of recent political events.

The running dates at the top and margin of the page, and the full synoptical headings of the chapters, will clearly indicate the chronological and other relations of the events described, and will greatly facilitate private study, and class examinations and reviews. The writer would especially urge the frequent use of the carefully prepared map which accompanies this volume, without which the important geographical relations of places and events cannot be understood. A copious index and pronouncing vocabulary of proper names have been considered essential to the completeness of the work.

Trusting that this contribution to Canadian history will help to cultivate in its younger readers an intelligent patriotism, and better prepare them for the duties of citizenship, the author commits it to the sympathy of an indulgent public.

W. H. W.

TORONTO, August, 1876.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA—To 1497.

Ancient Traditions—The Norsemen—Columbus—Vespucci—De Gama.....	9
--	---

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EXPLORATION—To 1549.

The Cabots—Coteréal—De Lèry—Verazzani—Cartier—The Robervals.....	13
--	----

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIAN TRIBES.

The Mound-Builders—Modern Tribes—Arts—Wars—Superstitions—Alliances—Tribal Divisions—Present Condition.....	18
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

CHAMPLAIN'S ADMINISTRATION—To 1635.

Early Colonization—Frobisher—Magellan—Drake—Gilbert—Raleigh—Convicts on Sable Island—Chauvin at Tadoussac—Des Monts—Port Royal—Champlain Finds Quebec, and Explores the Country—Kirk's Conquest of Quebec—Its Restoration—Death of Champlain.....	24
---	----

CHAPTER V.

THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES—To 1663.

English Colonization—Jamestown—Plymouth—Montmagny—Ville Marie—Huron Missions and Martyrs—Laval—Des Ormeaux.....	35
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT—To 1670.

Supreme Council—De Mézy—De Tracy—Talon—Courcelles—Indian Wars—Seigniorial Tenure—Fur Trade.....	44
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST—To 1687.

Frontenac—Jesuit Explorers—Marquette—La Salle.....	51
--	----

CHAPTER VIII.

"THE AGONY OF CANADA"—To 1689.

De la Barre—Indian Wars—Famine Cove—Denonville— Treachery of Le Rat—Indian Ravages—Massacre of Lachine.....	56
---	----

CHAPTER IX.

FRONTENAC'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION—To 1698.

French Invasion of New England—Massacres of Corlear and Salmon Falls—Sir William Phipps is repulsed at Quebec—Iroquois Wars—D'Iberville—Treaty of Rys- wick—Death of Frontenac.....	60
--	----

CHAPTER X.

"QUEEN ANNE'S WAR"—To 1743.

Treaty with Iroquois—Vaudreuil—Massacres of Deerfield and Haverhill—Capture of Port Royal—Failure of Attack on Quebec—Peace of Utrecht—Charlevoix— Rasles	66
--	----

CHAPTER XI.

LOUISBURG—DU QUESNE—To 1754.

Pepperel's Conquest of Louisburg—It is restored by Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Halifax Founded—Collision in Ohio Valley.....	73
---	----

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755.

Sir William Johnson—Braddock's Defeat—Dieskau's Defeat at Fort George—Expulsion of the Acadians.....	78
---	----

CHAPTER XIII.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1756 AND 1757.

Seven Years' War Begun—Capture of Forts Oswego and William Henry—Massacre of Prisoners—Exhaustion of Canada—Famine—Extortion of Bigot.....	84
--	----

CHAPTER XIV.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1758 AND 1759.

Fall of Louisburg—Abercrombie's Defeat—Capture of Fort Du Quesne—British Victories—Niagara and Ticonde- roga taken.....	89
---	----

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA, 1759 AND 1760.

- Wolfe Before Quebec—Engagement at Montmorency—
 Battle of the Plains of Abraham—Death of Wolfe and
 Montcalm—Battle of Ste. Foye—Capitulation of Canada. 95

CHAPTER XVI.

BRITISH RULE—To 1774.

- Effects of the Conquest—The Peace of Paris—Conspiracy
 of Pontiac—The Quebec Act..... 102

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—To 1784.

- Causes of the War—Invasion of Canada—Burgoyne's and
 Cornwallis' Surrender—The Peace of Versailles—The
 U. E. Loyalists..... 108

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FOUNDING OF UPPER CANADA—To 1809.

- The Constitutional Act—Early Legislation—York Founded
 —Growth of Parties—Judge Thorpe—Social Organiza-
 tion..... 115

CHAPTER XIX.

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF 1812-15.

- The New Constitution—Sir J. Craig's Administration—
 Constitutional Crisis—Causes of the War—Hull's Sur-
 render—Battle of Queenston Heights, and Death of
 Brock—Dearborn's Invasion..... 123

CHAPTER XX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

- Proctor at French Town—Capture of York and Niagara—
 Victories at Stony Creek, Beaver Dams, and Fort Meigs
 —Defeats at Sackett's Harbour, Lake Erie, and Mora-
 vian Town—Victories of Chrysler's Farm and Chateau-
 guay—Burning of Niagara—Sea Fights..... 132

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

- Victories of Lacolle and Oswego—Battles of Chippewa,
 Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie—Prevost's Retreat from
 Plattsburg—Capture of Washington—Treaty of Ghent
 —Battle of New Orleans..... 143

CHAPTER XXII.

AFTER THE WAR—LOWER CANADA—To 1828.

Effects of the War—Internal Development—Civil Strife—
The Union Scheme—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.. 150

CHAPTER XXIII.

AFTER THE WAR—UPPER CANADA—To 1836.

The "Family Compact"—Robert Gourlay—The "Canada
Trade Act"—Rev. Dr. Strachan—William Lyon Mac-
kenzie—Robert Baldwin—Sir Francis Bond Head..... 156

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REBELLION—LOWER CANADA—To 1838.

Political Disaffection—Election Riot—Large Immigration—
Cholera—Papineau's Grievance Resolutions—The Gos-
ford Commission—Seditious Gatherings—Collision at
Montreal—Rebels Rendezvous at Richélieu—Rebels
Routed by Wetherall and Sir John Colborne—Lord
Durham—His clement Policy and able Report 163

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REBELLION—UPPER CANADA—1836 AND 1837.

Struggles for Responsible Government—Speaker Bidwell—
Mackenzie's Defeat—His rebellious Projects—Apathy
of the Government—The Rendezvous at Gallows Hill—
Death of Colonel Moodie—Attack on Toronto—Rout of
the Rebels—Col. McNab..... 170

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE "PATRIOT" WAR—1837 AND 1838.

Hunters' Lodgers—Mackenzie at Navy Island—Col. McNab
on the Frontier—The *Caroline*—"Patriot" Raids—
Battle of Windmill Point—Rebellion Suppressed..... 176

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE UNION OF THE CANADAS—To 1841.

Constitutional Struggle in Maritime Provinces—L. A.
Wilmot—Joseph Howe—Boundary Disputes—Ashbur-
ton Treaty—Lord Durham's Report—The Union Bill—
Clergy Reserves..... 183

CHAPTER XXVIII.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—To 1846.

The New Constitution—"Double Majority"—Municipal
System—Sir Charles Metcalfe—Constitutional Struggle

—Upper Canada Rebellion Losses Bill—Public School System—Rev. Dr. Ryerson	191
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

REBELLION LOSSES AGITATION—To 1849.

Lord Elgin—Fiscal Emancipation—Irish Famine—Lower Canada Rebellion Losses Bill—The British North American League—Mob Violence at Montreal—Burning of Parliament Buildings—Lord Elgin Mobbed.....	199
--	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RAILWAY ERA—To 1852.

Political and Commercial Emancipation—Internal Development—Clergy Reserve Question—Francis Hincks—Railway Construction—Municipal Loan Fund.....	206
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

IMPORTANT LEGISLATION, 1853 AND 1854.

Gavazzi Riots—Reciprocity Treaty—Secularization of Clergy Reserves—Abolition of Seigniorial Tenure—Canada Steamship Company—Crimean War.....	213
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COALITION MINISTRY—To 1858.

Sir Edmund Walker Head—Militia Organization—Financial Prosperity—Mr. John A. Macdonald—Legislative Council made Elective—Commercial Crisis—"Double Majority" abandoned—"Representation by Population" demanded—Mr. George Brown	221
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII.

"REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION"—To 1861.

T. D'Arcy McGee—Ottawa selected as Capital—The Two Days' Ministry—The "Double Shuffle"—"Joint Authority" Resolutions—The Prince of Wales in Canada—Fugitive Slave Question—Outbreak of American War.	228
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

POLITICAL CRISIS—To 1863.

Lord Monck—The " <i>Trent</i> " Affair—Defeat of Cartier-Macdonald Ministry on Militia Bill—Commercial Prosperity—Alabama Piracies	237
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CONFEDERATION MOVEMENT—To 1865.

Political Dead Lock—Coalition Ministry—Confederate Raids from Canada—Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences— Canadian Parliament adopts Quebec Scheme—Close of American War—Death of Lincoln—Ottawa the Seat of Government.....	243
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FENIAN INVASION—1866.

Abrogation of Reciprocity Treaty—Increased Home Manu- facture and Intercolonial Trade—The Fenian Brother- hood—Its Plans—Invasion of Canada—The Country springs to Arms—Fight at Ridgeway—Escape of Fenians —A Sunday of Excitement—The Martyrs of Ridgeway —Prescott and Cornwall menaced—Eastern Frontier crossed—The Raids suppressed—Last Parliament of Old Canada	250
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONFEDERATION ACCOMPLISHED—To 1868.

The Munroe Doctrine—Banks' Bill—Fenian Trials—Growth of Confederation Sentiment—British North America Act—Its Provisions—Inauguration of New Constitution —Titles of Honour—First Cabinet—Assassination of T. D'Arcy McGee—Sir John Young—Anti-Confederation agitation—"Better Terms" granted Nova Scotia.....	260
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RIVAL FUR COMPANIES—RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Hudson's Bay Company—French Fur Company—North- west Company—Fort William—Red River Settlement Planted—Fierce Rivalries and Conflicts—Privations and Disasters—Prosperity and Development—Council of Assiniboia	268
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE RED RIVER REBELLION—To 1870.

Rupert's Land Act—Hudson's Bay Company Indemnity— Hon. William Macdougall excluded from the Territory— Riel's Revolutionary Council—Occupation of Fort Garry —Capture of Canadian Prisoners—Provisional Govern- ment of Assiniboia—Major Boulton condemned to death; reprieved—Execution of Thomas Scott—Ottawa Com- missioners—Red River Delegates—Manitoba Act—Red River Expedition—Collapse of Rebellion—Last Fenian Raids—British Columbia enters the Dominion—Its pre- vious History.....	276
---	-----

CHAPTER XL.

FALL OF THE MACDONALD MINISTRY—To 1873.

The <i>Alabama</i> Claims—Fishery Question—Washington Treaty—Hon. E. Blake Premier of Ontario—Lord Dufferin Governor-General—Geneva Arbitration—Colonial Connexion—General Election—Census Returns—Canada Pacific Railway Companies—Mr. Huntingdon's Charges—Investigation Committee—The Oaths Bill—Ontario Legislation—Prince Edward Island enters Dominion—"Pacific Scandal" Controversy—Tumultuous Prorogation—Royal Commission—Parliament receives its Report—Seven Days' Debate—Resignation of Ministry.....	285
---	-----

CHAPTER XLI.

THE MACKENZIE ADMINISTRATION—To 1876.

Construction of New Government—Dissolution of Parliament—Simultaneous Elections—Expulsion of Riel from the House—New Pacific Railway Act—Qu'Appelle Treaty—Ontario Elections—Amnesty to Red River Insurgents—Supreme Court—Mounted Police—Guibord Riot—Pilgrimage Riots—New Brunswick School-Law Troubles—Organization of North-west Council—Trade Discussions—Intercolonial Railway—Public Works—Canada at the Centennial Exhibition—Vice-Regal Tour to British Columbia—Conclusion.....	295
---	-----

HISTORY OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Ancient Traditions.

The Norsemen colonize Greenland and discover America in the Tenth Century.

The Trade with India the great Incentive to Exploration.

1486. Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope.

Efforts of Columbus to organize an Expedition ; baffled for ten years.

1492. He sets sail August 3rd, and DISCOVERS SAN SALVADOR, October 11th.

His further Discoveries, Misfortunes, and Death.

Amerigo Vespucci gives his name to the Continent.

1498. De Gama reaches India by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

FROM very ancient times there were traditions of the existence of a western world. Allusions in the Greek and Latin writers to the fabled island of Atlantis and the Gardens of the Hesperides, have been doubtfully supposed to refer to the continent of America. Both Phœnician and Carthagenian voyagers are said, on slender evidence, to have crossed by way of the Azores to some unknown land beyond the western sea. Little credence can be given to similar stories concerning the Irish and the Welsh.

On much better ground rest the claims of the Norsemen to the discovery of America. There is evidence that Iceland, eight hundred and fifty miles from Norway, was colonized from that country over a thousand years ago. Icelandic sagas record that Greenland was soon after discovered and settled, and that for four hundred years it remained a see of Rome, with a succession of seventeen Christian bishops. The sagas further record that, in the year one thousand, Leif Erikson wintered about the latitude of Boston, in a newly-discovered country which, from the abundance of wild

grapes, he called Vinland. He is said also to have visited and named Markland (Nova Scotia), and Helluland (Newfoundland). Soon after, several colonies, it is recorded in the sagas, settled in Vinland; but they were eventually expelled by the natives or wasted by famine and disease. The awful pestilence known as the Black Death, which in the fourteenth century desolated Europe, and the consequent interruption of commercial intercourse with Greenland, caused these discoveries to fall out of mind.

But, even though the alleged facts be true, they do not lessen the glory of Columbus for his re-discovery of the western continent. His was no less the commanding genius that wrested its secret from the bosom of the sea, and revealed to the astonished eyes of Europe a new world. He lived in a period of remarkable maritime adventure. The rich commerce with the East in gold and silver and precious stones, in ivory, silks, and costly spices, had stimulated the desire to find a shorter way of access to India—the land of those coveted treasures—than the tedious caravan route through the Syrian deserts. The invention of the Mariners' Compass, and the increased knowledge of astronomy and navigation, encouraged the efforts to seek this distant land by sea. With this design, the Portuguese had extended their voyages along the African coast, till at length, in 1486, Bartolommeo Diaz reached the southern point of that continent, which was named, as an augury of the long-sought discovery, the Cape of Good Hope.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese mariner, had in the meanwhile conceived the idea of reaching India by sailing directly westward around the world. Possibly he may have heard, in a voyage which he made to Iceland, traditions of the former discovery of a land beyond the Atlantic. He was confirmed in his convictions by the writings of learned men, and by the strange products of unknown countries cast upon the shores of Europe by western gales. For twenty years he cherished his grand design, and for ten years he went from court to court—to Genoa, Portugal, and Spain—seeking to inspire confidence like his own, and to obtain an outfit for the enterprise. After many disheartening rebuffs, delays, and

broken promises, when impoverished and almost despairing, the generous Isabella of Castile became his patroness, pledging even her crown jewels for the support of his project. But the means furnished were strangely inadequate for the magnitude of the task—only three small vessels and one hundred and twenty men. With a lofty faith in what he believed to be his providential mission, Columbus claimed the office of admiral of all the lands to be discovered, and one-tenth of the profit of all their merchandise.

After solemn religious rites, on Friday, August third, 1492, Columbus and his companions sailed on their memorable voyage. Leaving the Canary Islands on the sixth of September, they sailed steadily westward for five and thirty days. The mysterious trade winds seemed to the sailors to waft them remorselessly onward to some dread unknown. The appalling distance they had travelled, the alarming variations of the compass which occurred, the strange portents of a sea of weeds that almost impeded their progress, and of a fierce storm that followed, aroused in the disaffected crews dark conspiracies and turbulent mutinies. But, with the majesty of a great spirit full of faith, Columbus over-ruled their coward minds. But even his courage at length proved unavailing against their turbulent fears, and he was compelled to promise that if land were not discovered in three days, he would abandon his life-project. But within the allotted time, on the night of October the eleventh, lights were seen by the eager watchers, moving amid the darkness, and the joyous cry of "Land! land!" rang from vessel to vessel. With the dawn of the morning the New World lay revealed to European eyes. The discoverers eagerly disembarked upon the virgin strand, and with tears and thanks to Heaven, kissed the ground. With devout prayers and hymns of praise, Columbus took possession of the new-found territories in the name of God, and of his sovereign mistress, Isabella of Castile.

The land proved to be one of the Bahama islands, and was reverently named San Salvador. After visiting several of the neighbouring islands, designated, in accordance with his erroneous geographical theory, the

West Indies, Columbus returned to Spain, to proudly lay at his sovereigns' feet the dominion of a new world. He was crowned with the highest honours, and the naval resources of the kingdom were placed at his disposal. With seventeen ships and fifteen hundred men, he speedily sailed again to prosecute his discoveries in these unknown lands. In successive voyages he explored the West Indian archipelago and the adjacent mainland. But calumny, envy, and malice pursued him, and the discoverer of a new world was dispossessed of his authority, and sent back in chains to the ungrateful country which, beyond the dreams of avarice, he had enriched. Broken in health, bowed in spirit, impoverished in estate, stricken with the weight of seventy years, neglected by the sovereign whom he had so faithfully served—his noble benefactress, Isabella, no longer lived to protect him—this great man died at Seville, May twentieth, 1506. As if his remains could find a fit resting-place only in the new lands which he had discovered, they were conveyed in 1536 to the island of Santo Domingo, and in 1796, with great pomp, to Havana, within whose cathedral they now repose.

Amerigo Vespucci, a private adventurer, who wrote an exaggerated account of his explorations succeeding those of Columbus, by giving his name to the new-found continent, has defrauded of that honour the rightful claimant.

In 1497-98, the Portuguese navigator, Vasco de Gama, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, reached the coast of India—the chief object of the adventurous voyages of discovery of this period.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EXPLORATION.

- 1497.** John Cabot discovers Labrador and Newfoundland.
Sebastian Cabot explores America from the La Plata to Hudson's Bay,
1498-1517.
Coteréal—De Lèry—Verazzani.
- 1534.** JACQUES CARTIER DISCOVERS THE ST. LAWRENCE.
- 1535.** Visits Stadacona and Hochelaga—NAMES *Mont Royal*.
Winters at Stadacona—Sufferings from Scurvy.
- 1541.** Roberval, Viceroy—Cartier, his Lieutenant; FOUNDS CHARLESBOURG.
- 1542.** Roberval winters at Cape Rouge--Mutiny and Scurvy.
- 1549.** The Robervals founder at sea.

THE discovery of America was the beginning of a new era in the world. It led to the development of great maritime enterprise. The western nations of Europe were eager to take possession of the new-found continent. Numerous voyages of exploration were projected by adventurous spirits, under the patronage of their respective sovereigns. In the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian merchant resident in Bristol, received from Henry VII. King of England, a commission for discovery in the New World, on the condition that one-fifth of the profits of the expedition should accrue to the crown. In the following spring, with his son Sebastian, he sailed from the port of Bristol in a single vessel, and on the twenty-fourth of June sighted the coast of Labrador, to which he gave the name of Prima Vista. He landed and planted in the soil of the New World the banner of England. He was thus the first discoverer of the continent of America, fourteen months before Columbus, in his third voyage, beheld the mainland. Two days after he reached a large island, probably Newfoundland, which, in honour of the day, he called St. John's Island.

1498 The following year Sebastian Cabot, with two vessels, in the endeavour to reach the Indies by a north-west passage, sailed as far north as Hudson's Straits. Prevented by icebergs from proceeding further, he sailed southward, skirting the coast of North America as far as Chesapeake Bay. He afterward explored the

coast of South America as far as the La Plata. In a subsequent voyage, 1517, he penetrated that bay to which, a hundred years afterward, Hudson gave his name.

In the years 1500 and 1501 Gaspard Coteréal, a Portuguese, made two voyages to Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, and New England, and captured fifty Indians, whom he conveyed as slaves to Europe.

The rich fisheries of the Banks of Newfoundland soon began to attract the hardy Breton and Norman fishermen, the former of whom gave its present name to Cape Breton. Denys and Aubert, French sailors, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1506 and 1508. In 1518 Baron de Lery, with a company of colonists, landed on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia, but were compelled by its inhospitable climate to abandon it. The cattle that were left behind, however, multiplied remarkably, and their progeny have frequently furnished subsistence to shipwrecked mariners.

In 1525, Verazzani, a Florentine in the French service, explored the continent from North Carolina to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and gave to it the name of New France.

The real discoverer of Canada, however, was Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, in Brittany. On the twentieth of April, 1534, he sailed from that port with two small vessels of about sixty tons each, and a company, in all, of one hundred and twenty-two men. In twenty days he reached the coast of Newfoundland, where he was detained ten days by the ice. Sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle, he scanned the barren coast of Labrador, and turning south-westward passed the Magdalen Islands, abounding in birds, flowers, and berries. On a resplendent day in July he entered the large bay to which, on account of the intense heat, he gave the name Des Chaleurs. Landing at the rocky headland of Gaspé, he erected a large cross bearing the lily shield of France, and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, Francis I. Taking with him two of the natives, from whom he learned the existence of a great river, leading so far into the interior that "no man had ever traced it to its source," he sailed up the Gulf of St. Lawrence till he could see the land on either side. The season being

advanced he resolved to return, postponing further exploration till the following summer.

The successful voyage very favourably impressed the king, and three vessels, better equipped and manned than the first, were furnished for the enterprise. The little squadron, dispersed by adverse winds, did not reach the mouth of the St. Lawrence till the middle of July.

1535 On the tenth of August, the festival of St. Lawrence, Cartier entered a small bay, to which he gave the name of the saint, since extended to the entire gulf and river. Passing the gloomy gorge of the Saguenay, and sailing on beneath lofty bluffs jutting out into the broad river, on the seventh of September he reached the Island of Orleans, covered with wild grapes, hence named Isle of Bacchus. Here he received a friendly visit from Donnacona, an Algonquin chief, with five hundred of his followers. Seven days after, having resolved to winter in the country, the little squadron dropped anchor at the mouth of the St. Charles, where stood the Indian town of Stadacona, beneath the bold cliff now crowned with the ramparts of Quebec.

Eager to explore the noble river, Cartier pressed on with fifty men in his smallest vessel. Arrested by a sand bar at Lake St. Peter, he took to his boats with thirty companions, and on the second of October reached the Indian town of Hochelaga, nestling beneath a wood-crowned height gorgeous with autumnal foliage, to which he gave the name of *Mont Royal*, now Montreal. The town was a circular palisaded enclosure, containing fifty large-sized, well-built houses, with about a thousand inhabitants. From the top of the neighbouring mountain Cartier surveyed the magnificent panorama of forest and river, and learned from the Indians the existence of inland seas and mighty streams far in the interior. After three days' friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, who evidently regarded the French as superior beings, bringing their sick to be healed by their touch, Cartier returned to Stadacona, which he reached on the eleventh of the month.

Having protected their vessels by a stockaded enclosure, mounted with cannon, the French prepared, as best they could, for the winter, which proved of unusual severity.

They were neither adequately clothed nor provisioned. Scurvy of a malignant type appeared. By the month of April twenty-six had died and were buried in the snow. The survivors attributed their recovery to an infusion of spruce bark, prescribed by the natives. Having abandoned the smallest of the vessels, on the sixth of May Cartier set sail for St. Malo, carrying with him Donnacona and several chiefs. The kidnapped Indians never again saw their native land, all of them dying before another expedition returned, having been previously baptized into the Roman Catholic faith, with great pomp, in the grand old cathedral of Rouen.

The religious wars with Charles V. now for four years absorbed the attention and exhausted the treasury of Francis I. At length, in 1540, the Sieur De Roberval, a wealthy noble of Picardy, obtained the appointment of Viceroy of New France, and organized a colonizing expedition. Cartier, as his lieutenant, sailed with
1541 five ships the following spring, and reached Stadacona in the month of August. The natives, at first friendly, became less so on finding that Donnacona and his companions had not returned. Cartier therefore removed to Cape Rouge, three leagues up the river, laid up three of his vessels, sent two back to France for reënforcements, built a fort to which he gave the name of Charlesbourg, and began to cultivate the soil. He again visited Hochelaga, and explored the country for gold and precious stones, but found only some glistening scales of mica, and some quartz crystals on the cliff still known as Cape
1542 Diamond. After a gloomy winter, having heard nothing from Roberval, and the Indians proving unfriendly, he sailed for France. At St. John's, Newfoundland, he met Roberval, with three ships and two hundred colonists of both sexes. But disheartened by their disasters and sufferings, Cartier and his company refused to return, and, weighing anchor by night, they continued their homeward voyage.

Roberval wintered at Cape Rouge, but with the loss of over sixty men by cold and scurvy. The Indians, too, were unfriendly; and the colonists, most of whom were convicts, proved so insubordinate that the Governor had

to hang some, and to scourge or imprison others. In the spring, with seventy men, Roberval attempted to explore the interior, but without beneficial results, and with the loss of eight men by drowning. In the fall of this year Cartier was again sent to Canada to order Roberval's return. He wintered for the third time in the country, and finally left it in May, 1544, conveying with him the remains of the ill-fated colony, and his name henceforth disappears from history. Five years later, on the return of peace, Roberval and his brother organized another colonizing expedition to Canada; but the fleet was never heard of after it sailed, and probably foundered by encounter with icebergs. Thus ended in disastrous failure all the early expeditions to New France.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIAN TRIBES.

The Mound-Builders—Their superior Art, Manufactures, and Social Organization—Their probable Origin and Fate.

The modern Indians, probably an intrusive Asiatic race.

Their Physical aspect.

Their Agriculture, Canoes, Wigwams, Dress, and Ornaments.

Their Wars, Craft, Cruelty, and Stoicism.

Their Councils, Oratory, and Treaties—Wampum Belts.

Their Superstitions—The Great Spirit—Burial Customs—Fetichism—
“Medicine-men”—Gambling.

Their Alliances—The Fur Trade, etc.

Tribal Divisions—The Algonquins—Hurons—Iroquois.

Their present condition.

THE name Indians, given to the native races of America, commemorates the illusion of its discoverers that they had reached the shores of the Asiatic continent. A short digression as to the character, manners, and tribal divisions of these races is necessary in order to understand the long and often cruel conflict between the white man and the red for the possession of the New World.

All over this continent, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, are found the remains of an extinct and pre-historic people. These consist for the most part of earthen mounds, often of vast extent and almost countless numbers. Hence their unknown creators are called the Mound-Builders. These mounds were employed for burial, for sacrifice, for temple sites, and for military observation. There were also vast enclosures of earth-works, sometimes miles in extent. Many of these were evidently for military defence against an intrusive race, and formed a line of forts from the Alleghanies to the Ohio. Others were for religious purposes and often, especially in the Mississippi valley, formed the outlines of gigantic animals, probably the totems or symbols of the different tribes, as the turtle, alligator, eagle, hawk, and like figures. On the Atlantic seaboard and in the valley of the St. Lawrence these mounds are either altogether wanting or are of far inferior character.

There is also ample evidence of the comparatively high state of civilization of the Mound-Builders, chiefly remains of their art and manufactures, elegant pottery, carved pipes, woven fabrics, and other objects. They also worked the copper mines on Lake Superior, raising huge masses from considerable depths, and forging or casting it into weapons and elaborate ornaments. These were the objects of an active commerce extending from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico.

Long before the discovery of America by Columbus this mysterious people had passed away; for their mounds, graves, and quarries are covered deep by an alluvial deposit in which trees, often of a gigantic size, have grown. They seem to have been a mild and unwarlike race, probably of Asiatic origin, subsisting chiefly by agriculture; and, in Central and South America, developing the remarkable civilization of which such wonderful remains have been found in Mexico, Guatemala and Peru. These gigantic structures could only have been erected by a numerous people with a settled social order and with considerable skill in agriculture and the arts.

They were probably driven southward out of the Mississippi valley, by a succeeding wave of Asiatic emigration, the progenitors of the present Indian tribes. This intruding race was of a much more fierce and warlike character, and, continuing its nomad life, never attained to a degree of civilization at all comparable to that of the race they dispossessed.

The Indians of whom we shall have to speak in this history were a tall athletic people with sinewy forms, regular features, straight black hair, scanty beard, dark eyes, and copper-coloured skin. They were capable of much endurance of cold, hunger, and fatigue; were haughty and taciturn in their manners; active, cunning, and stealthy in the chase and in war; but in camp sluggish, and addicted to gluttonous feasts. The women in youth were of agreeable form and feature, but through severe drudgery soon became withered and coarse.

The agriculture of the native tribes, with slight exception, was of the scantiest character—a little patch of Indian corn or tobacco rudely cultivated near their summer cabins. Their chief subsistence was derived from

hunting and fishing, in which they became very expert. With flint-headed arrows and spears, and stone axes and knives, they would attack and kill the deer, elk, or buffalo. The necessity of following these objects of their pursuit to their often distant feeding grounds, precluded social or political organization except within very narrow limits. The same cause also prevented the construction, with a few exceptions, of any but the rudest and simplest dwellings—conical wigwams of skins or birch-bark, spread over a frame-work of poles. Some of the more settled and agricultural communities had, however, large lodges for public assemblies or feasts, and even for the joint accommodation of several families. Groups of these lodges were sometimes surrounded by palisades, and even by strong defensive works with heaps of stones to repel attack, and reservoirs of water to extinguish fires kindled by the enemy.

The triumph of Indian skill and ingenuity was the bark canoe—a marvel of beauty, lightness, and strength. It was constructed of birch bark severed in large sheets from the trees, stretched over a slender frame-work of ribs bent into the desired form, and well gummed at the seams with pine resin. Kneeling in these fragile barks, and wielding a short strong paddle, the Indian or his squaw would navigate for hundreds of miles the inland waters, shooting the arrowy rapids, and even boldly launching upon the stormy lake. Where rocks or cataracts interrupted the progress, the light canoe could easily be carried over the “portage” to the navigable waters beyond.

The Indian dress consisted of skins of wild animals, often ornamented with shells, porcupine quills, and brilliant pigments. In summer little clothing was worn, but the body was tattooed and painted, or smeared with oil. When on a war expedition, the face and figure were bedaubed with startling contrasts of colour, as black, white, red, yellow, and blue. The hair was often elaborately decorated with dyed plumes or crests of feathers. Sometimes the head was shaved, all but the scalp lock on the crown. The women seldom dressed their hair, and except in youth wore little adornment. Their life after marriage was one of perpetual drudgery. They tilled the

fields, gathered fuel, bore the burdens on the march, and performed all the domestic duties in camp.

The Indian wars were frequent and fierce, generally springing out of hereditary blood feuds between tribes, or from the purpose to avenge real or fancied insults or wrongs. After a war feast and war dance, in which the plumed and painted "braves" wrought themselves into a phrensy of excitement, they set out on the war-path against the object of their resentment. Stealthily gliding like snakes through the forest, they would lie in wait, sometimes for days, for an opportunity of surprising the enemy. With a wild whoop they would burst upon a sleeping village and involve in indiscriminate massacre every age and either sex. Firing the inflammable huts, and dragging off their prisoners, they would make a hasty retreat with their victims. Some of these were frequently adopted by the tribe in place of its fallen warriors; others were reserved for fiendish tortures by fire or knife. One trophy they never neglected, if possible, to secure—the reeking scalp lock of their enemy. Torn with dreadful dexterity from the skull and dried in the smoke of the hut, it was worn as the hideous proof of the prowess of the savage warrior. When captured, they were as stoical as iron in the endurance of pain. Amid agonies of torture, they calmly sang their death-song, hurling haughty defiance at the foe.

Their councils for deliberation were conducted with great gravity and decorum. The speakers often exhibited much eloquence, wit, vigour of thought, and lively imagination. Their oratory abounded in bold and striking metaphor, and was characterized by great practical shrewdness. They were without a written language, but their treaties were ratified by the exchange of wampum belts of variegated beads having definite significations. These served also as memorials of the transaction, and were cherished as historic records, whose interpretation was the assigned task of the wise men of the tribe.

The Indians were deeply superstitious. Some tribes had an idea of a Great Spirit or Manitou, whose dwelling-place was the sky, where he had provided happy hunting grounds for his red children after death. Hence they

were often buried with their weapons, pipes, ornaments, and a supply of food for their subsistence on their journey to the spirit world. Others observed a sort of fetichism—the worship of stones, plants, waterfalls, and the like; and in the thunder, lightning, and tempest, they recognized the influence of good or evil spirits. The “medicine men,” or conjurers, cajoled or terrified them by their superstitious hopes or fears. They attached great importance to dreams and omens, and observed rigorous fasts, when they starved themselves to emaciation; and glutton feasts, when they gorged themselves to repletion. They were inveterate and infatuated gamblers, and have been known to stake their lives upon a cast of the dice, and then bend their heads for the stroke of the victor’s tomahawk.

In the unhappy conflicts between the English and the French for the possession of the continent, the Indians were the coveted allies of the respective combatants. They were supplied with knives, guns, and ammunition, and the atrocities of savage were added to those of civilized warfare. The profitable trade in peltries early became an object of ambition to the rival nations, and immense private fortunes and public revenue were derived from this source. The white man’s “fire water” and the loathsome small-pox wasted the native tribes. The progress of settlement drove them from their ancient hunting grounds. A chronic warfare between civilization and barbarism raged along the frontier, and dreadful scenes of massacre and reprisal stained with blood the annals of the time.

The great Algonquin nation occupied the larger part of the Atlantic slope, the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the watershed of the great lakes. It embraced the Pequods and Narragansetts of New England, the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, the Abenakis of New Brunswick, the Montagnais and Ottawas of Quebec, the Ojibways or Chippeways on the great lakes, and the Crees and Sioux of the far west.

The Hurons and Iroquois were allied races, though for ages the most deadly enemies. They were more addicted to agriculture than the Algonquins, and dwelt in better houses, but they were equally fierce and implacable. The Hurons chiefly occupied the country between Lakes Erie,

Ontario, and Huron, and the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. Their principal settlement, till well nigh exterminated by the Iroquois, was between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay.

The Iroquois or Five Nations occupied northern New York, from the Mohawk River to the Genesee. The confederacy embraced the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and was afterwards joined by the Tuscaroras from South Carolina. They were the most cruel and blood-thirsty of all the savage tribes—skilful in war, cunning in policy, and ruthless in slaughter. They were chiefly the allies of the British, and proved a thorn in the side of the French for a hundred and fifty years.

After the British conquest of Canada, the Indians were gathered into reserves under military superintendents at Grand River, Rice Lake, River Thames, Manitoulin and Walpole Islands, and elsewhere; and were supplied with annual presents of knives, guns, ammunition, blankets, trinkets, grain, implements and the like. Special efforts have been made with marked success for their education in religion, agricultural industry, and secular learning.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAMPLAIN'S ADMINISTRATION.

- Spanish and English Colonization.
1576. Frobisher explores the Arctic Seas.
Magellan—Drake—Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
1585. Raleigh's unsuccessful Colony at Roanoke.
1598. De la Roche lands Convicts at Sable Island.
1600. Chauvin plants a trading post at Tadousac.
1603. Champlain's first voyage to Canada.
1605. Des Monts winters at St. Croix, and Poutrincourt founds Port Royal.
1608. CHAMPLAIN FOUNDS QUEBEC.
1611. Names Place Royal (Montreal).
1613. Discovers Lakes Huron, Simcoe, and Ontario.
1627. THE COMPANY OF THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES ORGANIZED.
1629. KIRK'S CONQUEST OF QUEBEC.
1632. QUEBEC RESTORED BY THE TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE.
1635. Death of Champlain.

FOR fifty years after the failure of Roberval, there was no further attempt to colonize Canada. France, engaged in her prolonged struggle with Spain and Austria, and convulsed by the civil wars of religion, had neither men nor means to spare for foreign settlement.

Spain had early claimed the whole continent, from the Gulf of Mexico to Labrador. Balboa, from the mountains of Darien, had descried the Pacific, and
1513 dispelled the illusion that America was a part of Asia. Cortes, with a handful of followers, had
1521 taken and sacked the populous city of Mexico.* Ponce de Leon had sought amid the everglades of Florida a fountain of youth, and found an early grave. Ferdinand de Soto had discovered the mighty Mississippi, and been buried beneath its waters. In 1565
1542 was founded St. Augustine, by forty years the oldest town in America.† Admiral Coligny, the leader of the

* In 1530, Spanish valour, led by Pizarro, conquered the kingdom of Peru, and Spanish cruelty well nigh exterminated the inhabitants.

† The dates of the earliest settlements are as follows:—St. Augustine, 1565; Port Royal, 1605; Jamestown, 1607; Quebec, 1608; Albany, 1615; Plymouth, 1620; New York, 1623; Boston, 1630; Montreal, 1642; Frontenac (Kingston), 1672; Philadelphia, 1683; Detroit, 1702; New Orleans, 1718; Halifax, 1749; St. John, 1783; Toronto, 1795.

French Protestants, had already planted a private Huguenot colony in Florida; but through the jealousy of the Spaniards at St. Augustine, it was utterly destroyed, with the atrocious murder of eight hundred Frenchmen. Their countryman, De Gourgues, terribly avenged their death.

The hope of finding a north-west passage to the Indies continued to be a strong incentive to North American exploration. In 1576, Martin Frobisher, an English mariner, again essayed the task. In a vessel of only five and twenty tons, he reached the straits still known by his name. He took possession of a barren island in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and found in its soil some grains of gold, or what resembled it. A gold mania ensued. Two successive fleets, one of fifteen vessels, were dispatched to the arctic El Dorado. Several of the vessels were wrecked or driven from their course; the others returned, laden with hundreds of tons of glittering mica. The discovery of its worthlessness ended the attempt at arctic colonization; but the dream of a north-west passage is still a potent spell.

A Portuguese sailor was the first to circumnavigate the globe, and has left his name stamped for ever upon the geography of the earth, and emblazoned in the constellations of the skies.* The gallant Drake, an Englishman, explored the north-west coast of America as far as Oregon, and followed in Magellan's wake around the world.

From early in the century the maritime nations of Europe pursued the whale in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and fished for cod on the banks of Newfoundland. The latter industry became of great importance, to supply the demand for fish of Roman Catholic countries. In 1578, four hundred vessels gathered the harvest of the sea upon those fertile banks. One hundred and fifty of these were French; but the English, we read in contemporary records, "were commonly lords in the harbours." A profitable trade in peltry with the natives along the seaboard and far up the St. Lawrence, had also sprung up.

In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, step-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, reasserted England's claim, by right of

* Magellan's Straits and the Magellanic Clouds.

discovery, to Newfoundland, by taking possession of the island, with feudal ceremony, in the name of Queen Elizabeth. On its return, the little fleet was shattered by a tempest. The pious admiral, in the tiny pinnace, *Squirrel*, of only ten tons burden, foundered in mid-ocean. Before night fell, as he sat in the stern of the doomed vessel, with his bible in his hand, he called aloud to the crew of his consort, the *Hind*, "Fear not, comrades; heaven is as near by sea as by land."

Undeterred by the fate of his gallant kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had himself explored the forests of Guiana, and who believed in the existence of a city of gold on the Orinoco, sent out an expedition, which planted the first English colony in America, on Roanoke island, off the coast of North Carolina; but disaster, imprudence, and conflicts with the natives, soon led to its abandonment.

We now return to the narrative of early French colonization. In the year 1598, the Marquis de la Roche obtained from Henry IV. a commission of the vice-royalty of New France, and fitted out an expedition, which included some forty convicts. These he left on Sable Island, while with the rest of his company he explored the mainland. After five years twelve only of the convicts were found alive, the rest having miserably perished.

In the year 1599, Chauvin, a naval officer, obtained a monopoly of the fur trade, on condition of settling five hundred colonists in Canada. With the aid of Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, he built a trading post at Tadousac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, and established a lucrative traffic in peltries. In 1603, Champlain, a naval officer in the service of the company, and the future founder of Quebec, ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, but saw no trace of the Indian town existing there sixty years before. Chauvin dying this year, Des Monts, a Huguenot noble, obtained the much-coveted trading monopoly. Acadia was selected for colonization, on account of the supposed mildness of its climate, ease of access, and abundance of furs; and a well-equipped expedition was fitted out. After exploring the Bay of Fundy and the coast of New England, Des Monts wintered at St. Croix, and lost thirty-six men by scurvy.

Reënforcements arriving, a settlement was made, in 1605, at Port Royal, a grant of which was given to Poutrincourt, who was appointed Governor. After three years of busy industry, the colony was abandoned on account of the seizure of its store of peltries by the Dutch, and the revocation of its charter. In 1610 it was replanted; but through religious dissensions it was reduced to the verge of ruin and starvation. Having somewhat revived, it was, in 1613, utterly destroyed, as was also a French colony, just planted at Mount Desert Island, in Maine, by an armed expedition from Virginia, under Captain Argall.*

Des Monts meanwhile abandoned Acadia for Canada. In 1608, Champlain, as his lieutenant, sailed with two vessels for the St. Lawrence. On the third of July he reached Quebec, and, beneath the tall cliff of Cape Diamond, laid the foundations of one of the most famous cities of the New World.† A wooden fort was erected and land cleared for tillage. The colonists were soon comfortably housed, but before winter was over many of them had died of scurvy. The severe discipline observed by the Governor provoked a conspiracy for his murder. It was discovered; the ringleader was hanged, and his fellow-conspirators were shipped in chains to France. Champlain maintained friendly relations with the Algonquin Indians in his neighbourhood, and in the spring yielded to their solicitations to join a war party in an attack upon their hereditary foes, the Iroquois. With his savage allies, Champlain advanced up the river Richelieu, and with a tiny fleet of twenty-four canoes and sixty warriors, glided forth upon the beautiful lake which bears his name. At its southern extremity they came upon the foe, whom the strange appearance of the armed Europeans, only three in number, and the novel terror of the death-dealing firearms, soon put to flight. In

* In 1609, Henry Hudson, an English navigator, sailed up the river to which he gave his name, as far as Troy, and the following year explored Hudson's Bay. With his son and seven others he was turned adrift by a mutinous crew, and never heard of again. The noble bay which became his grave perpetuates his memory.

† The name *Quebec*, Champlain positively asserts, was the Indian designation of the narrows of the St. Lawrence at this point, the word signifying a strait. *Canada* is the Indian word for a collection of huts, and enters into the composition of several native names.

spite of his remonstrance, Champlain was compelled to witness the torture of twelve of the enemy, captured by the Algonquins. This was an unfortunate expedition, as the Iroquois became, for one hundred and fifty years, the implacable foes of the French, and terribly avenged, by many a murder and ambuscade, the death of every Indian slain in this battle. The following spring they entrenched themselves at the mouth of the Richelieu, and were routed only after a fierce struggle, in which Champlain himself received an arrow in his neck.

After the death, in this year, of Henry IV., the patron of Des Monts, the latter was obliged to admit private adventurers to share the profits of the fur trade, on condition of promoting his schemes of colonization. The powerful Prince of Condé, Admiral Montmorency, and the Duke of Ventadour, became successively Viceroys of Canada: but the valour, and fidelity, and zeal of Champlain commanded the confidence of them all. Through successive changes of patrons, he continued to be the head of the colony, as their agent, yet bearing the commission of the King of France. With the prescience of
1611 a founder of empire, he selected the Island of Montreal as the site of a fort protecting the fur trade and commanding the two great water-ways of the country, the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa. The commercial prosperity of the great city which now covers so large a portion of the island is an ample vindication of his choice. He erected storehouses at Lachine, which he named Sault St. Louis, and gave the designation it still bears to St. Helen's Island, opposite the city, after the name of his wife.

In order to verify the story of a boasting adventurer as to the existence of a great northern sea, which would probably give access to China and India, Champlain, with a native interpreter and a few companions, penetrated up the rapid Ottawa, over rugged portages and through tangled forests, as far as the Isle of Allumettes. When even the Indians refused to escort him further on his perilous way, and he discovered the falsehood of his guide, he returned, disappointed but undaunted, to Quebec, and thence to France, to urge the fortunes of the colony.

With a desire for gain, and for extending the dominions of France in the New World, was blended also, in the purposes of successive Viceroys of the colony, a zeal for the conversion of the savages to the Catholic faith. In this purpose they were seconded by the piety of Champlain. On his return to Canada in 1615, he brought with the new company of colonists four Récollet friars, the first of a heroic band of missionaries, who toiled amid the wilderness to win the wandering pagans to the doctrines of the cross.

On his arrival at Montreal, Champlain found a large party of Algonquin and Huron Indians about to wage war against the Iroquois. Desirous of cementing an alliance with these friendly tribes, he agreed to accompany the expedition. First proceeding up the Ottawa and over almost countless portages, he reached, by way of Lake Nipissing and French River, the Georgian Bay, and beheld, stretching to the west, seemingly boundless as the ocean, the blue heaving billows of Lake Huron, to which he gave the name *Mer Douce*—the Fresh Water Sea. Coasting down its rugged eastern shore, and through its many thousands of rocky islands, he reached the inlet of the Matchedash Bay, where Penetanguishene now stands. This region, now the northern part of the county of Simcoe, contained the chief settlements of the Huron Indians, a nation variously estimated at from ten to thirty thousand souls, dwelling in palisaded towns, with large and well-built houses, and subsisting by agriculture as well as by the chase. Over a forest trail, Champlain and his companions passed to the appointed place of rendezvous, Cahiagua, on the narrows of Lake Couchiching, near where the pretty village of Orillia now stands. Le Caron, one of the Récollet friars, with twelve Frenchmen, had preceded Champlain to this western wilderness, and here, in the solitude of the primeval forest, were, for the first time, chanted the *Te Deum* and offered the sacrifice of the mass.

At Cahiagua, a war party of two thousand plumed and painted braves were assembled, and several days were spent in feasting, war dances, and other savage pastimes. Sailing, with several hundred canoes, through Lake Simcoe and up the Talbot River, and traversing the pic-

turesque Balsam, Sturgeon, Pigeon, and Rice Lakes, with their intervening portages, they glided down the devious windings of the Otonabee and Trent Rivers, and reached the beautiful Bay of Quinté, with its columned forests and verdure-clad, gently undulating slopes, now adorned with smiling villages and cheerful farms. Emerging from the placid bay, the Huron fleet entered the broad and blue Ontario, dimpling in the autumnal sunlight. To this Champlain gave the name—which it long retained—of Lac St. Louis. Boldly crossing the lake, they reached the country of the Iroquois. Hiding their canoes in the forest, they pressed onward some thirty leagues, to the Seneca towns near Lake Canandaigua. The Iroquois, attacked in the corn fields, for it was the time of the maize harvest, retired to their town, which was defended with four rows of palisades. The tumultuous onset of the Hurons was ineffective. They were soon thrown into disorder, in spite of the efforts of Champlain, who was himself seriously wounded by the arrows of the savages, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to fire the town, resolved to retreat. This movement was conducted with greater skill than the attack. The wounded, bound on rude litters, were carried in the centre, while armed warriors formed front, rear, and flanking guards.

Champlain had been promised an escort down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, but, daunted by their defeat, the Hurons refused to keep their engagement. He was, therefore, although severely wounded, compelled to return with his savage allies. They encamped for thirty-eight days near Mud Lake, north-west of Kingston, waiting for the frost to bridge the rivers and oozy marshes. For four days he was lost in the woods. For nineteen days, he traversed, on snow-shoes, the wintry forest, beneath a crushing load, through what are now the counties of Hastings, Peterborough, and Victoria, and on Christmas eve, the baffled war party reached Cahiagua. Champlain remained four months with his savage hosts, sharing in their councils, their feasts, and their hunts, and hearing strange tales of the vast lakes and rivers of the far west.

1606 His arrival at Quebec, after a year's absence, was greeted almost as a resurrection from the dead.

In the fall he returned to France, only to find his patron, Condé, disgraced and imprisoned. The Duke de Montmorency, in 1620, purchased the vice-royalty for 11,000 crowns. The same year, Champlain brought out his youthful wife, who was received by the Indians with almost reverential homage, as if a being of superior race. The impolicy of Champlain's Indian wars was soon manifested by the first of those Iroquois attacks which so often afterwards harrassed the colony. Quebec was as yet only surrounded by wooden walls. To strengthen its defences, the energetic Governor built a stone fort in the lower town, and on the magnificent heights overlooking the broad St. Lawrence, one of the noblest sites in the world, he began the erection of the Castle of St. Louis, the residence of successive Governors of Canada down to 1834, when it was destroyed by fire.

In consequence of disputes in the Trading Company of New France, and its neglect to furnish supplies for the colony, its charter was suspended and its privileges transferred to the Sieurs De Caen, uncle and nephew, zealous Huguenots. The elder De Caen soon arrived at Quebec and attempted to seize the vessels of the old company then in the river. Many resident traders left the country in disgust, so that, although eighteen emigrants had arrived, the population was reduced to forty-eight persons.

1625 Montmorency soon surrendered his vice-royalty to the Duke de Ventadour, a nobleman who, wearied of the follies of the court, had entered a monastic order, and was full of zeal for the extension of the Roman Catholic faith in the New World. He suppressed the Protestant worship in De Caen's ships, especially the singing of psalms, which seems to have been particularly obnoxious, and sent out three Jesuit Fathers, two of whom were Pères Brébeuf and Lalemant, afterward martyred by the Iroquois.

Amid the religious and commercial rivalries by which it was distracted, the infant colony languished. The Iroquois, grown insolent from a knowledge of its weakness, became more bold in their attacks, and even cruelly tortured a French prisoner. The De Caens furnished inadequate supplies of food, clothing, and ammunition, so

that at times the colony was reduced to great extremities. Everything withered under their monopoly.

1627 Cardinal Richelieu, one of the greatest statesmen who ever swayed the destinies of France, was now in power. A part of his comprehensive policy for the aggrandizement of his sovereign and country was, the development of the French colonies, and the suppression of the Huguenots. He straightway annulled the charter of the De Caens, and organized the Company of the Hundred Associates with the absolute sovereignty of the whole of New France, and with the complete monopoly of trade, except the whale and cod fisheries. It was required to settle four thousand Catholic colonists within fifteen years, and to maintain and permanently endow the Roman Catholic Church in New France; and all Huguenots were banished from the country.

But, before this scheme could be carried into effect, a new misfortune befel the colony. Charles I., King of England, had made an ineffectual attempt to relieve the Huguenots besieged in Rochelle, and had declared war against France. The conquest of Canada was decreed, and the task was assigned to Sir David Kirk, a Huguenot refugee. In the summer of 1628 he reached the St. Lawrence, burned Tadousac, and sent a summons to Champlain to surrender. The Governor ostentatiously feasted the messengers, although the town was on an allowance of only seven ounces of bread per day, and the magazine contained but fifty pounds of powder, and returned a gallant defiance to Kirk. The latter, adopting the policy of delay, cruised in the Gulf, and captured the transports of the new company laden with the winter's provision for the colony. In consequence of this disaster, the sufferings of the French were intense. The crops of their few arable acres were unususally scanty. With the early 1629 spring the famishing population burrowed in the forests for edible roots. But the heroic spirit of Champlain sustained their courage. Still, the summer wore away, and the expected provision ships from France came not. At length, toward the end of July, hungry eyes discovered from the Castle of St. Louis three vessels rounding the headland of Point Lévi. They were English ships of war, commanded by two brothers of Admiral

Kirk. The little garrison of sixteen famine-wasted men surrendered with the honours of war, and Louis Kirk, installed as Governor, saved from starvation the conquered inhabitants, less than one hundred in all.

The year before, Kirk had captured Port Royal, where the French had again planted a colony. Sir William Alexander, a Scottish nobleman, had previously obtained an English patent (1621, renewed 1625) to the whole of Acadia, and changed its name to Nova Scotia. In 1630 he conveyed the southern part of the peninsula to La Tour—a French renegade in the English service—and sent him to drive the French from Cape Sable. This was held by a son of La Tour, who proved faithful to his country and repelled the assault of his sire.

As peace had been declared before the surrender of Quebec, Champlain urged the apathetic French court to demand its restoration. This demand was made, and, by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, the whole of Canada, Cape Breton and Acadia, was restored to the French. De Caen was granted a monopoly of the fur trade for one year, to indemnify him for losses during the war; and the red cross banner of England, after waving for three years from the Castle of St. Louis, gave place to the lily flag of France.

1633 The following year Champlain returned to the colony as Governor, with two hundred emigrants and soldiers, and an abundant supply of provisions, merchandise, and munitions of war. With characteristic energy he established forts at Three Rivers, and at the mouth of the Richelieu, to protect the fur trade and check the inroads of the Iroquois,* and greatly promoted the prosperity of the colony and the christianizing of the native tribes. But the labours of his busy life were drawing to a close. In October, 1635, he was smitten with his mortal illness. For ten weeks he lay in the Castle of St. Louis, unable even to sign his name, but awaiting with resignation the divine will. On Christmas day the brave soul passed away, and the body of the honoured founder of Quebec was buried beneath the lofty cliff which overlooks the scene of his patriotic toil.

* This ancient highway, by which the bark fleets of these enemies of New France invaded the colony, was long known as the River of the Iroquois.

His epitaph is written in the record of his active life. For thirty years he laboured without stint and against almost insuperable difficulties for the struggling colony. A score of times he crossed the Atlantic in the tardy, incommodious, and often scurvy-smitten vessels of the period, in order to advance its interests. His name is embalmed in the history of his adopted country, and still lives in the memory of a grateful people, and in the designation of the beautiful lake on which he, first of white men, sailed. His widow, originally a Huguenot, espoused her husband's faith, and died a nun at Meaux in 1654. His account of his voyage and his history of New France bear witness to his literary skill and powers of observation; and his summary of Christian doctrine, written for the native tribes, is a touching monument of his piety.

CHAPTER V.

THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES.

- 1607.** English Colonization—JAMESTOWN FOUNDED.
The New England Colonies.
- 1637.** Montmagny, Governor of Canada.
- 1642.** FOUNDING OF VILLE MARIE (Montreal).
HURON MISSIONS—Their destruction by the Iroquois, **1648-49.**
- 1658.** The Onondaga Mission Abandoned.
- 1659.** The Abbé Laval, first Vicar Apostolic.
- 1660.** Dulac des Ormeaux, the Leonidas of Canada.
- 1663.** Charter of the Hundred Associates Annulled—Earthquakes.

IN order to understand the prolonged conflict between France and Great Britain for the possession of the North American continent, it will be necessary to trace briefly the progress of English colonization. It was not till the year 1607, one hundred and ten years after the discovery of America by Cabot, that a permanent English settlement was made in the New World. It consisted of one hundred and five emigrants—of whom forty-eight were “gentlemen,” and only twelve labourers and four carpenters—sent out by a company of London merchants, incorporated under royal charter. They entered the magnificent Chesapeake Bay, and began their settlement at Jamestown, on the James River. Indolence, strife, and jealousy, plunged the colony into anarchy and despair. Before autumn half of its number had died, and the rest were enfeebled with hunger and disease. They were only saved from destruction by the energy and ability of Captain John Smith, the romantic story of whose rescue from death by Pocahontas is one of the most pleasing legends of early colonization. Successive reënforcements, chiefly of broken-down gentlemen, bankrupt tradesmen, and idle and dissolute fugitives from justice, increased the number in three years to four hundred and ninety persons, when John Smith, injured by an explosion of gunpowder, was compelled to return to England. In six months vice and famine had reduced the colony to sixty persons, who prepared to abandon the country. Lord Delaware opportunely arrived with supplies; but in twelve years, after

the expenditure of \$400,000, it numbered only six hundred persons. At length, reënforced by a superior class of immigrants, its population rapidly increased, till, in 1648, it numbered twenty thousand souls.

In 1632, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, received a grant of the territory which, in honour of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., he called Maryland. This he held by feudal tenure, paying only a yearly rent of two Indian arrows, and a fifth of all the gold and silver found. Catholics and Protestants alike enjoyed religious toleration, and by 1660 its population had increased to ten thousand souls.

The New England colonies were the offspring of religious impulse. A company of English Puritans, sojourning in Holland for conscience' sake, embarked in the *Mayflower* of immortal memory, and on Christmas day, 1620, landed on Plymouth Rock. Before spring, half the number had died, and for several years sickness and famine menaced the very existence of the colony. Further settlements were made at Salem and Boston; the new colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut were planted; and after many years of privation, suffering, sickness, and Indian massacres, the population of New England, continually reënforced by fresh immigration, reached, in 1675, fifty-five thousand.*

1637 We return, to follow more minutely the varying fortunes of New France. M. De Montmagny,† the successor of Champlain, arrived in Canada in 1637. The affairs of the colony were much depressed. The Company of the Hundred Associates, from which so much had been expected, did little but send a few vessels annually to traffic with the natives. Instead of transporting four thousand colonists in fifteen years, in the thirty-five years of its existence it did not send out one thousand. At Champlain's death, there were only two

* As early as 1615, the Dutch had a trading port at Albany. In 1623, they founded New Amsterdam, now New York. In 1638, the Swedes colonized Delaware, but were compelled to cede their territory to the Dutch in 1655. The Dutch, in turn, were obliged, in 1664, to yield their possessions to the English, now supreme from Acadia to Florida, which last, in 1764, the Spaniards ceded in exchange for Havana and Louisiana.

† From this governor is derived the name Onontio, applied by the Indians to all his successors. It is the translation into their language of his name, and signifies "Great Mountain."

hundred and fifty Europeans in the colony. In five years more, scarce a hundred were added. In 1648, the European population was only eight hundred, and in 1663, when the company's charter was annulled, it was less than two thousand, most of whom had come out without its aid. So slowly, as compared with that of Virginia and New England, did the population of New France increase.

For forty years, from 1632 to 1672, the Jesuit Fathers sent home annual "Relations" of the progress of the missions and of affairs in the colony, which circulated widely in the mother country.* Several families of rank and fortune were induced to immigrate with their servants and dependants, and received grants of land on seigniorial tenure, to be hereafter described. Many persons devoted to religion, also, both priests and nuns, eager to engage in missionary toil among the savages, came to Canada. One of the most remarkable of these was Madame de la Peltrie, a lady of wealth and noble birth, who, left a widow at the age of twenty-two, became the foundress of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec for the instruction of French and Indian girls. With her came Marie Guyart, better known by her conventual name of Marie de l'Incarnation, who had also been left a widow at the age of twenty. With several companions they arrived at Quebec in 1639. As they landed from their floating prison they kissed the soil that was to be the scene of their pious labours, and were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, and with firing of cannon, and the best military parade of the little garrison. For thirty-two years these devoted women lived and laboured among the savage tribes, and then, almost at the same time, ceased from their pious toil.

In the year 1640, the Company of the Hundred Associates ceded the Island of Montreal to a new company, which adopted the name of the island as its designation, and selected M. De Maisonneuve, a young and gallant military officer, as its representative. Jealous, probably, of a prospective rival, Montmagny endeavoured to induce

* These were collected and published in three large 8vo volumes by the Canadian Government in 1858. They are a perfect mine of information on early Canadian history.

him to remain at the Island of Orleans, but he resolved to brave the perils of the frontier post. In the spring of 1642, the little flotilla, bearing the founders of the new town and about forty soldiers and settlers, glided up the river. As they landed, a hymn of thanksgiving was sung, an altar was erected, and in that magnificent amphitheatre of nature, Père Vimont celebrated mass, and invoked the blessing of Heaven on the new colonists. Thus piously were laid the foundations of the Ville Marie de Montreal, the future commercial metropolis of Canada.

1643 Next year the colony was reënforced, and continued gradually to increase, notwithstanding the continual attacks of the ferocious Iroquois, by which several of the settlers were slain. Growing more audacious with success, a concerted plan was formed for the extermination of the French. Seven hundred savage warriors attacked the fort at the mouth of the Richelieu, and others ravaged the vicinity of Quebec and Three Rivers. Their attacks were repelled with the loss of several valuable lives, and a temporary peace was made with this treacherous foe.

That remarkable religious order, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries belted the globe with its missions, gained some of its most striking triumphs and exhibited its most heroic spirit in the wilderness of Canada. The Jesuit missionaries were the pioneers of civilization in the New World. As early as 1626, Jean de Brébeuf, the apostle of the Hurons, had visited, and for three years remained among those savage tribes. On Kirk's conquest of Quebec, he was recalled; but in 1634, accompanied by Pères Daniel and Davost, he returned to fertilize with his blood the mission he had planted. They were soon followed by others, and in 1641 Pères Jogues and Raymbault planted the cross and chanted the mass at Sault Ste. Marie, on the shores of Lake Superior.* For fifteen years the missionaries toiled among the Hurons, in the country between Lake Simcoe and the Geor-

* The fate of Jogues is of tragic interest. In 1642 he was carried captive to the Seneca towns and most inhumanly treated. He escaped to Albany, and thence to France. Undaunted by the danger, he returned to the scene of his sufferings, to establish the "Mission of the Martyrs," as it was prophetically named, and was there barbarously murdered.

gian Bay ; at first with little effect, but finally with great success. Foot-sore and weary, gnawed by hunger, and chilled by piercing cold, they traversed the wintry woods from plague-smitten town to town, to minister their healing simples to the victims of the loathsome small-pox, to baptize, if possible, a dying child, and to tell the painted savages in their reeking wigwams of the love of Mary and her Divine Son.

At length, after much pious effort, over a score of mission stations were established, the chief of which was at Ste. Marie, on the river Wye, near the present town of Penetanguishene. Here was erected a stone fort, whose ruins may still be traced, with a church and mission house. Sometimes as many as sixty white men were here assembled, of whom a score were Jesuit priests. In 1648, a storm of heathen rage burst upon the Christian missions. A war party of the blood-thirsty Iroquois fell upon the village of St. Joseph, near the present town of Barrie, on the morning of July fourth. Père Daniel had just finished the celebration of mass when the dread war-whoop was heard. "Fly, my brethren," he cried, "I will die here ;" and he fell like a hero at his post, with the name of Jesus on his lips. Seven hundred persons mostly women and children, were either captured or killed.

The next act of this tragedy opens in the early spring of 1649. A thousand Iroquois warriors had, during the winter, made their way from near the Hudson River to the Huron country. At St. Louis, not far from Orillia, Pères Brèbeuf and Lalemant were seized, and, after cruel tortures, borne with martyr patience, they were burned at the stake.* The mission was wrecked ; the Hurons were scattered ; their towns were abandoned, burned, or destroyed, and themselves fugitives from a wrathful foe. The missionary Fathers set fire to Ste. Marie, and saw consumed in an hour the labours of years. On the Island of St. Joseph, not far from the main land, they built a new mission fortress, the remains of which may still be seen. Here, by winter, were assembled six or eight

*The skull and other relics of Brèbeuf are preserved at the Hotel Dieu, at Quebec. No less than nine of the Jesuit Fathers and lay labourers died as martyrs in these cruel Indian wars.

thousand wretched Hurons, dependent on the charity of the mission. Before spring, harassed by attacks of the Iroquois, wasted by pestilence, and famished on the scanty allowance of acorns (boiled with ashes to take away their bitter taste), which was their only food, half of the number had died. There was nothing but despair on every side. More than ten thousand Hurons had already perished.

The Jesuits, "after forty consecutive hours of prayer to God," resolved, not without many tears, to abandon the country endeared by their toils and consecrated with the blood of their brethren. They were accompanied in their retreat, by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa, by three hundred Christian Hurons—sad relics of a nation once so populous. The little band of fugitives sought refuge on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec, and afterward on the main land. But even here they were pursued by the undying hate of the Iroquois, who again and again attacked the mission beneath the very guns of the fort. The remaining Hurons were dispersed in scattered bands over the bleak northern wastes from the Saguenay to the Mississippi, and soon disappeared as a distinct tribe. No trace now remains of the Jesuit missions save the blackened embers of the Christian villages, buried beneath the forest growth of over two centuries, which are sometimes upturned by the settler's plough; and a few families, the remnant of the once powerful Huron nation, still lingering at Lorette, near Quebec.

The incursions of the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence settlements now increased in frequency and audacity. From 1650 to 1660 a perfect reign of terror prevailed. Not a year, and scarce a month, passed without an attack. The Iroquois swarmed in the forests and on the rivers. They lay in wait, at times for weeks, near the forts, thirsting for French or Huron blood. They entered the settlements, and killed and scalped the inhabitants on their own thresholds. Every man carried his life in his hand. The peasants could not work in the fields unless strongly armed and in a numerous body. Ville Marie lost in one month by these incursions over a hundred men, two-thirds of whom were French, the rest Algonquins. The Governor of Three Rivers and a priest of Ville Marie were slain.

Notwithstanding the appalling perils of the task, the French resolved to plant, if possible, a mission among the Onondagas, in the heart of the Iroquois country, with the triple object of curbing their hostile disposition, of winning new converts to the cross, and of securing the fur trade from the growing interference of the Dutch. In a temporary lull of hostilities, Père Le Moyne and three other priests were selected to tread the pathway already reddened by the blood of Jogues, the previous envoy. They were accompanied by ten soldiers and forty settlers. The Mohawks tried to intercept the party, failing in which they ravaged the banks of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, and prowled around the very walls of Montreal and Quebec. The Onondaga mission was threatened with destruction, but the missionaries were able to outwit even the cunning of the blood-thirsty savages. Batteaux were constructed, and preparation was made by stealth, and when the natives were gorged with one of their glutton feasts, purveyed by the Jesuits, the mission was abandoned—priests, soldiers, settlers, escaping by night and eluding pursuit, safely reached Quebec.

In 1660, the Iroquois menaced with a fatal blow the very existence of the colony. Twelve hundred plumed and painted warriors were on the way to attack successively the three military posts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. Behind their loopholed palisades the trembling inhabitants gathered, their hearts failing them for fear. The colony was saved from extermination by an act of valour and devotion as heroic as any recorded on the page of history. Dulac des Ormeaux, a youth of twenty-five, with sixteen others, youthful like himself—all of Montreal—resolved to save their country, though they perished in the act. They made their wills, confessed, received the sacrament, and bade a solemn farewell to their friends, like men about to march to death. And so they were. Not one returned alive. They took their stand at the Long Sault, near Carillon, on the Ottawa. Soon the savage host appeared. For five long days and nights they swarmed around the frail redoubt erected by the French, repulsed again and again by its brave defenders, who, though worn by hunger, thirst, and want of sleep, fought, and prayed, and watched in turns.

Iroquois reinforcements arrived; and for three days longer seven hundred ferocious savages beleaguered the crumbling redoubt, and only with the death of the last Frenchman was the dear-bought victory won. But the colony was saved. The pass of the Long Sault was the Thermopylæ of Canada.

We return to trace briefly the political administration of New France during this period. In 1647, in consequence of the centralizing policy of the young sovereign, restricting the term of service of colonial governors to three years, Montmagny was recalled, although he had administered the affairs of the colony with distinguished ability, and M. D'Ailleboust was appointed his successor. The new Governor had already been five years commandant at Three Rivers, and understood the wants of the country, although deficient in the energy that characterized his two predecessors.

In 1651, M. De Lauson, a leading member of the Hundred Associates, succeeded to the government of the distracted country. During his administration, an envoy arrived from New England with the proposal of a treaty of commerce and amity between the British, French, and Dutch colonies, and especially providing for their neutrality in all quarrels of the mother countries. The French urged a mutual alliance against the Iroquois, but as these were the friends of the English, this stipulation unhappily frustrated the project, and embittered the hostility of the Iroquois, who, supplied with fire-arms from Fort Orange, continued to wreak their rage upon the French. Lauson, whose timid and vacillating administration encouraged their audacity, quitted his
1658 post in disgust, and was succeeded in office by the Viscount D'Argenson.

In 1659, the Abbé Laval, a member of the princely house of Montmorency, who afterwards (in 1670) became the first bishop of the colony, arrived in Canada as Vicar Apostolic. He was a man of intense zeal, and devotion to the interests of his order. For thirty years he swayed the religious destiny of the colony. His memory is greatly revered by his countrymen, and the noble collegiate pile which crowns the heights of Quebec perpetuates his name. Acrimonious disputes soon arose

between the bishop and successive governors on matters of precedence and other expressions of ecclesiastical dignity.

In 1661, D'Argenson was succeeded by the Baron D'Avaugour, a brave soldier, who had served with distinction in Hungary. Resolved on energetic measures of colonial defence, he asked for three thousand regular troops. The king tardily sent out four hundred, and meanwhile the country was laid waste, and the military posts were practically in a state of siege. The bluff soldier and the bishop were involved in almost continual discord.

In 1663, the whole country was shaken by a terrible earthquake. Dense darkness filled the air, the thick-ribbed ice on the rivers was broken, springs were dried up, the church bells pealed with the rocking motion, buildings tottered, the forest trembled, and portentous noises were heard. Shocks were repeated at intervals from February to August. The utmost consternation prevailed, but happily no loss of life occurred.

In this year, D'Avaugour was recalled, and soon after died, fighting bravely against the Turks in Croatia. This date closes the administration of the Hundred Associates, which had been characterized by greed, weakness, and inefficiency on the part of the Company, and by the unparalleled sufferings of the colonists.

CHAPTER VI.

ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

- 1663.** CONSTITUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL—De Mésy, Governor.
1665. De Tracy, Viceroy—Talon, Intendant.
De Courcelles, Governor—Attacks the Iroquois.
1666. DE TRACY CONQUERS THE MOHAWKS—EIGHTEEN YEARS' TRUCE.
Talon's wise administration—SEIGNIORIAL TENURE OF LAND.
The Fur Trade—The Small Pox and Liquor Traffic waste the Native Tribes.

THE charter of the Hundred Associates having been rescinded by a royal edict (February, 1663), the government of New France became vested directly in the crown. The failure of the Company, now reduced to half its original number, to meet its engagements, and the depressed condition of the colony, were an ample vindication of this step. Colbert, the new minister of Louis XIV., a man of comprehensive views, and of great energy and integrity of character, continued for a score of years to be the tried and true friend of Canada. He endeavoured to restrain the corruption and extravagance at home, in order that aid might be given for the development of the colony, but with only very partial success.

The new government was administered by a Supreme Council, composed of the Governor, the Bishop, and the royal Intendant, assisted by four Councillors—a number afterwards raised to twelve. Of this Council, Laval was president, and had jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. The Governor was the military representative of the King, and was generally of noble rank; while the Intendant was his representative in legal matters, and was generally a member of the legal profession. The respective duties and authority of the Governor and Intendant were not clearly defined, and from their peculiar relations it was impossible but that jealousies should arise between them. The Governor frequently, and with justice, regarded the Intendant as a spy upon his conduct and a check upon his influence; and each made frequent and often conflicting reports to the King. The Council met

every Monday, at first at the vice-regal chateau of St. Louis, and afterwards in an old brewery, fitted up as a "Palace of Justice." Its jurisdiction covered every department of government—legislative, judicial, executive—from declaring war or peace to trivial municipal regulations, and the settlement of petty disputes. Subordinate courts were afterwards established at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal; and the seigniors were empowered to settle disputes "involving not more than sixty sous, or offences of which the fine was not more than ten sous."* The code of laws of the mother country, known as the "*coutume de Paris*," or custom of Paris, became the recognized colonial standard.

The new system was inaugurated with considerable energy. A hundred families of immigrants arrived, and the prospects of the colony began to brighten. Laval had procured the appointment of M. de Mésy, commandant of Caen, as the first Governor, on account of his anticipated subserviency to himself. De Mésy, however, asserted his authority in a violent manner, banished two members of the Council, and, it is said, attempted to seize the person of the Vicar Apostolic. For this extravagance he was superseded in 1665, but died before his successor arrived.

The trade of Canada had meanwhile been granted to the West India Company, one of those giant monopolies that strangled its infant commerce, just struggling into life. In consideration of its control, for fifty years, of the traffic of New France, it was to defray all the expenses of government.

Simultaneous with these events was another which was destined to affect the entire future history of the North American continent. The English sovereign, Charles II., had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the country adjacent to the Hudson River, which for fifty years had been in the peaceable possession of the Dutch. Four English ships anchored before New Amsterdam, and demanded its surrender. After a short parley, the white flag was raised, and the Dutch settlers became British subjects. Out of compliment to the Duke

* In a few instances their jurisdiction was more extensive.

of York, the place was re-named New York, and Fort Orange became Albany. The English strove steadily to divert the fur trade from the St. Lawrence to the Hudson, offering in barter better goods at lower prices than their French rivals. The Iroquois became their willing allies, and for years held the balance of power between the hostile nations. Out of the commercial greed of these formidable rivals sprang the cruel wars which long desolated the frontiers of New England and New France.

The Marquis de Tracy, a veteran officer, was sent to Canada as Lieutenant-General, to reduce the Iroquois and settle all disorders. He arrived in the spring of 1665, with a splendid body of troops—the royal Carignan regiment, which had won glory in Hungary, fighting against the Turks. The scanty population of Quebec gazed with pride, and the Indian scouts with amazement, on the solid phalanx of these mail-clad warriors, as with roll of drums and peal of trumpets they climbed the steep ascent to the citadel. The mounted officers especially struck terror to the savage breast, as they were deemed inseparable from the horses they bestrode—the first the Indians had ever seen. Soon after arrived M. de Courcelles, the new Governor, and M. Talon, the new Intendant of Canada, with more soldiers, and a numerous body of immigrants, together with cattle, implements, and military stores. The addition to the population during the season was two thousand persons, about thirteen hundred of whom were veteran troops.

The colony was now strong enough to wage aggressive warfare on the Iroquois. To check their inroads by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, forts were built at Chambly and Sorel, which places received their names from the officers in command of the works. Alarmed at the preparations for war, the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas sent an embassy to make a treaty of peace with the French. The Mohawks and Oneidas remained hostile. De Courcelles, the Governor, a rash but gallant soldier, with five hundred men, set out from Quebec on 1666 the ninth of January. They traversed the frozen St. Lawrence and Richelieu, and Lakes Champlain and St. Sacrament (Lake George), encamping in the deep snow, chilled to the marrow by piercing winds, and suf-

fering severely from the unaccustomed mode of travel on snow-shoes beneath heavy burdens. Reaching the borders of the Mohawk country, a detachment of troops fell into an ambushade, and eleven were slain and seven wounded. Finding that he was trespassing on the territory recently ceded by the Dutch to the English, and conquered by the elements rather than by the savage foe, De Courcelles began a precipitate retreat. Sixty of his men perished by cold before he reached the frontier forts, and after a march of fifteen hundred miles, the worn and weary battalions regained Quebec.

This expedition, disastrous as it proved in its issue, struck terror into the hearts of the Iroquois. The Mohawks alone continued their depredations. During the autumn De Tracy, then seventy years of age, organized an expedition for their subjugation. In three hundred boats, in the bright October weather, thirteen hundred men, including a hundred Indian allies and six hundred Carignan soldiers, threaded the mazes of the Richelieu and the lovely lakes Champlain and St. Sacrament. A hundred miles' march through tangled woods, on short allowance of food, severely taxed the endurance of the troops. Coming on the Mohawk stockades, twenty drums sounded the charge. Terrified at the unaccustomed din and at the seemingly endless files of the French debouching from the wood, the Mohawks abandoned town after town, although they were strongly palisaded and defended by flanking bastions. Unopposed, the French took possession; the *Te Deum* was sung; the mass was said; the cross was planted, and De Tracy claimed the whole Mohawk country in the name of his royal master, Louis XIV. That night the forest was reddened with the flames of the burning Indian towns, with all their winter stores of maize. With the early morning the little army was in full retreat, and safely reached Quebec before the winter fell. The power of the Mohawks was broken. Before spring four hundred are said to have perished. The survivors learned to dread the strength of that arm which at such a distance could strike such a blow, and a treaty of peace was made, which gave rest to the long harassed colony for eighteen years.

Under the able administration of De Courcelles and Talon, after the departure of Tracy in 1667, the affairs of the colony greatly prospered. The Intendant especially laboured to develop the natural resources of the field, the forest, and the mine, as well as the fisheries and the fur trade. He endeavoured to promote manufacturing, shipbuilding, and trade with the West Indies. He began the construction of an intercolonial road to Acadia, and extended explorations towards Hudson's Bay, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. Many of his enlightened schemes are only being carried into effect two centuries after his death. He procured the disbandment of the Carignan regiment in the colony, with grants of land to the officers and men. Thus twelve hundred able-bodied soldiers were retained in the country, to develop its resources and defend its frontier. In order to procure wives for the disbanded troops and unmarried colonists, Talon, in conjunction with the home authorities, procured a large immigration of marriageable young women of good character, to whom a handsome dowry was paid. A fine was imposed on celibacy, and on the arrival of the annual ship-load of candidates for matrimony, couples were married, says the contemporary chronicle, "by thirties at a time."

These military colonists became the tenants or *censitaires* of the seigniors, often their former officers, to whom extensive domains had been assigned. The soldiers' grants, situated chiefly on the St. Lawrence and Richelieu, were generally a hundred arpents or French acres in size, having a narrow frontage on the river and running back about a mile and a half. These farms often became subdivided by inheritance into a mere riband of land, some of which have continued in the same family to the present time. In the absence of roads the proximity to the river furnished facilities for travel, and also for mutual defence. The *censitaires* paid to the seigniors a nominal rent, but they were required to labour for his benefit a certain number of days in the year; to get their corn ground at his mill, paying a fixed toll therefor; to give him one fish in every eleven caught; and, in case of a sale of their lands, to pay him one-twelfth of the price received. It was, in fact, a

modified form of feudal tenure. It was only entirely abolished in 1854.*

Trade, however, strangled by artificial restrictions, languished, and the West India Company grew rich at the expense of the colony. Almost the sole traffic was that in furs, which was unduly stimulated to the great injury of the country. The wild forest life had an irresistible fascination to the adventurous spirits of the time. Hundreds of the young men, disdaining the dull routine of labour, became *Coueurs de Bois*, "Runners of the Woods," and roamed like savage nomads upon the distant shores of Lakes Superior and Michigan. Meanwhile the fields languished for lack of tillage; poverty and famine wasted the land.

The charter of the West India Company was rescinded in 1674, and the trade reverted directly to the crown. The collection of the government tax of one-fourth and one-twelfth of all the beaver skins and buffalo skins respectively, was leased out to "Farmers-General," who grew rich by buying the remainder at nominal prices. The *Coueurs de Bois*, lawless and reckless, set at defiance the royal edicts issued for their restraint, and glutted the market with furs for which there was no remunerative demand: three-fourths of the stock at Montreal was burned in 1700 in order to make the rest worth exportation.

A considerable number of Algonquin Indians had been gathered into mission communities by the Jesuit Fathers, and brought under at least the partial restraint of Christianity and civilization. But the white man's diseases, and the white man's vices, were more easily acquired than the white man's virtues. The small-pox wasted the native tribes. Of fifteen hundred Indians at Sillery nearly all were swept away by this dreadful plague. Tadousac and Three Rivers, recently populous with Indian fur traders, were almost deserted. The white man's "fire water" had a fatal fascination for the red man's unrestrained appetite. The Jesuit missionaries fought earnestly against

* The rents were often absurdly low. At Montreal, at this period, a common annual rate was half a sou and half a pint of wheat per acre. The purchasing power of money was very great. Fuel sold at Quebec for one and three pence per cord, the amount of a day's wages. Eels were sold in the market at one shilling per hundred.

the liquor traffic. It was denounced from the pulpit as hurtful to body and soul, and its agents threatened with excommunication. But the civil power connived at the evil, and the irresponsible traders clandestinely ministered to the Indian's insatiable passion for strong drink, to the destruction of his health, the corruption of his character, and the demoralization of the Christian missions.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST.

1672. Frontenac, Governor—FOUNDS FORT FRONTENAC (Kingston).
Jesuit Explorers.
1673. MARQUETTE DISCOVERS THE MISSISSIPPI.
1679. La Salle launches the GRIFFIN.
1682. REACHES THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.
1687. Attempts to Colonize Louisiana and is slain.

IN the year 1672, M. de Courcelles, on account of ill health, and M. Talon, at his own request, returned to France; and Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, was appointed Governor, and M. Duchesneau, Intendant of Canada. Frontenac was a soldier, of old and noble family, brave but haughty, and alternately condescending and overbearing, generous and violent, pious and vindictive. His imperious temper soon involved him in disputes with Laval, now raised to the dignity of bishop, and with the Intendant, and rendered his whole administration one of tumult and strife.

One of the first acts of the new Governor was the planting of a fort and trading post at the foot of Lake Ontario,* both long known by his name, in order to check the interference of the English from Albany and New York with the fur trade of the Indian allies of the French.

The chief glory of Frontenac's administration was the spirit of daring exploration and discovery by which it was characterized. The pathfinders of empire in the New World were the Jesuit missionaries. With breviary and crucifix, at the command of the Superior of the Order at Quebec, they wandered all over this great continent from the forests of Maine to the Rocky Mountains, from the regions around Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi. Paddling all day in their bark canoes, sleeping at night on the moss-covered rock, toiling over rugged portages or through pathless forests, pinched by hunger, gnawed to the bone by cold; often dependent for suste-

* Where Kingston now stands.

nance on acorns, the bark of trees, or the bitter moss to which they have given their name; lodging in Indian wigwams, whose acrid smoke blinded their eyes, and whose obscene riot was unutterably loathsome to every sense; they yet persevered in their path of self-sacrifice for the glory of God, the advancement of their Order, and the extension of New France. "Not a cape was turned, not a river was entered, but a Jesuit led the way."*

In 1640, Pères Brébeuf and Shaumont explored the southern shore of Lake Erie. In 1641, Pères Jogues and Raymbault told the story of the Cross to a wondering assembly of two thousand red men, beside the rushing rapids of Ste. Marie, five years before Eliot had preached to the Indians within gunshot of Boston town. In 1646, Père de Quen threaded the gloomy passes of the Saguenay to teach the way of salvation to savage northern hordes. In 1660, Renè Mesnard reached Keweenaw Bay, on Lake Superior, and perished in the wilderness. The zeal of Laval burned to tread in the same path of trial and glory. In 1665, Père Alloüez paddled his frail canoe over the crystal waters of Superior, beneath the pictured rocks, the columned palisades, the rolling sand dunes of its southern shore, to its furthest extremity, and heard of the vast prairies and great rivers beyond.

In 1673, under the patronage of Talon, Père Marquette, with Joliet, a native of Quebec, who had previously travelled overland to Hudson's Bay, and five others, glided down the winding Wisconsin to the mighty Father of Waters. Day after day they sailed down the solitary stream for over a thousand miles, past the rushing Missouri, the turbid Ohio, and the sluggish Arkansas. Learning that the mighty river flowed onward to the Gulf of Mexico, they retraced their way to the mouth of the Illinois. Threading that stream they reached the site of Chicago, sailed up Lake Michigan, and Joliet hastened to Quebec to tell the story of the fair and virgin lands of the far west, while Marquette remained to preach the gospel to his beloved Miamis. Two years later, while on a preaching excursion, feeling his end to be near, though only in

* Bancroft, vol. ii. chap. xx.

his thirty-eighth year, Marquette built a small booth of branches, and, requesting to be left to his devotions, he died, like our own heroic missionary explorer, Livingstone, while holding communion with his Maker. The beautiful river and the busy town that bear his name perpetuate the honoured memory of the discoverer of the Great West.

Joliet's tidings excited a profound interest in Canada. He himself received a grant of the Island of Anticosti, where he died in 1701. A county in his native province, and a mountain and city in Illinois, commemorate his name.

During Talon's administration as Intendant, a bold and enterprising gentleman adventurer, Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, had planted a trading post at Lachine—a name given either in earnest or derision to “the first stage on the way to China.” La Salle obtained a patent of nobility and the grant of a seigniory, near Fort Frontenac, on condition of rebuilding it of stone, with the virtual control of the local fur-trade. Here he felled the forest, cultivated the soil, formed a flourishing settlement, and built for the prosecution of his fur trade four small
1677 decked vessels, the first that ever floated on the waters of Ontario.

The glory of Joliet's discovery fired the ambition of La Salle. He obtained, through the influence of Colbert, a royal commission for exploration in the far west, with authority to erect forts, and a monopoly of the traffic in buffalo skins. In November, 1678, accompanied by Tonti, an Italian veteran, by Père Hennepin, and a motley crew, he sailed for the Niagara river, and erected a fort above the great cataract. Hennepin's account and sketch of the falls are graphic, though exaggerated. During the winter, La Salle returned on foot to Frontenac, for additional naval supplies. By mid-summer, 1679, a vessel of forty-five tons was built and launched amid the chanting of the *Te Deum* and the firing of her little armament of small cannon. On the seventh of August, the *Griffin* spread her wings to the breeze, and, stemming the rapid current, entered Lake Erie. In three weeks, the pioneer mariners of the inland seas, thirty-four in all, reached the entrance to

Lake Michigan, having escaped a violent storm on Lake Huron. The strange apparition of the winged vessel and booming cannon everywhere produced surprise and consternation. La Salle freighted the *Griffin* with a cargo of furs in order to appease the clamours of his creditors, and sent her back to Niagara. She must have foundered in an autumnal storm, as she was never heard of again.

Weary of waiting her return, he resolved to explore the interior, and with Hennepin, Tonti, and thirty men, before the end of December reached Lake Peoria, in the heart of Illinois. Here, amid the despondency, mutiny and desertion of his men, he built a fort to which, in allusion to his disasters and disappointments, he gave the name of Crèvecœur—Heart-break. Despatching Hennepin to explore the upper Mississippi, and ordering the 1680 construction of a vessel during his absence, the intrepid pioneer set out on foot with three companions, through wintry snows and pathless woods, to Fort Frontenac, fifteen hundred miles distant. Hennepin discovered and named the Falls of St. Anthony, but Tonti, attacked by Iroquois, and his force reduced to four men, was compelled to abandon the fort. When La Salle returned in the summer with reënforcements and cordage for his vessel, he found the post deserted. Another winter was passed in the wilderness, when the dauntless explorer returned again to Canada to replenish his impoverished resources. At length, with his little company, he launched his frail canoes on the broad bosom of the Mississippi. For sixty days he glided down the giant stream, and reaching its mouth he claimed the vast mid-continent for France, under the name, in honour of his sovereign, of Louisiana.*

To meet the detractions of his enemies, he returned to Canada, and sailed to France. He was received with favour at court, and despatched with four ships, a hundred soldiers, and a hundred and eighty settlers to colonize Louisiana. He missed the mouth of the Mississippi. His store-ship was wrecked on the Texan coast, near Galveston, two hundred miles out of his course, and the other vessels

* The Ohio and the Mississippi received the names respectively of River St. Louis and River Colbert.

returned to France. Disaster dogged his footsteps. Disease, famine, and savage foes made havoc among his followers. Treachery and mutiny corrupted the survivors. His colony being reduced to forty persons, La Salle set out with sixteen men for Canada to procure recruits.

1687 His companions mutinied and barbarously murdered their leader, leaving his naked body on the prairies to be devoured by buzzards and wolves. After superhuman toils and sufferings, seven men of the ill-fated band reached Canada to tell the tragic story ; the rest perished miserably in the wilderness.

The animating spirit of La Salle was not the religious enthusiasm of the Jesuit missionaries, nor the patriotic devotion of Champlain, but rather a vast ambition, a passion for discovery, an intense energy of character, which courted difficulty and defied danger. His splendid services to France and civilization merited a better fate than his tragic and treacherous death, at the early age of forty-three, upon the Texan plains.

CHAPTER VIII.

"THE AGONY OF CANADA."

- 1682. Frontenac recalled—De la Barre, Viceroy.
- 1684. Iroquois War renewed—DISASTER OF FAMINE COVE.
- 1685. Denonville, Viceroy—Seizes Iroquois Chiefs.
- 1687. Defeats Senecas—Plants Western Forts.
- 1688. IROQUOIS RAVAGE FRONTIER—Treachery of Le Rat.
- 1689. MASSACRE OF LACHINE, the "brain-blow" of Canada.

DURING the ten years of Frontenac's first colonial administration, his haughty and overbearing manners involved him in perpetual disputes with the Bishop, the Intendant, the Council, the Jesuits—in fact, with all who opposed his often arbitrary will. He maintained his position chiefly through his relationship to Madame de Maintenon, and through the influence of his wife, a reigning beauty at the court of Louis XIV. At length, wearied with complaints, the king recalled both Frontenac and Duchesneau in 1682, and appointed M. de la Barre and M. de Meules as their successors.*

De la Barre was a naval officer of considerable reputation, but lacking the prompt decision and energy of character that the exigencies of the times demanded. On his arrival in Canada, he found the country threatened with the outbreak of another Iroquois war. The English colonists had increased to tenfold the number of the French, and their fur traders were everywhere endeavouring, by intrigue, by persuasion, by underselling their rivals in the luxuries of savage life, to divert the profitable traffic in peltries from Montreal and Quebec to Albany and New York.

Colonel Dongan, the Governor of New York, notwithstanding the friendly relations between his sovereign, Charles II., and Louis XIV., fomented the ancient antipathy of the Iroquois to the French. A Seneca war party having attacked and plundered some French traders, De la Barre was compelled to open hostilities. He had

* In this year, a disastrous fire, the first of several such, destroyed a large part of Quebec.

only a hundred and thirty regular soldiers, and urgently besought reënforcements. Mustering a thousand militia-men and Indians, and a handful of regulars, at Fort Frontenac, he proceeded to invade the Seneca country. Through his incompetence and delays his command endured extreme privations for want of food. Disease and death wasted them away while lingering at Famine Cove, near Oswego—so named on account of their sufferings. Here he made an ignominious peace with the savages, promising immediate departure, and leaving out of the treaty five hundred Illinois allies on their way to join him, and within a day's march. On his return to Quebec, his chagrin was increased at finding that reënforcements
1685 had arrived. De la Barre was soon recalled in disgrace, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Denonville. The Chevalier de Callières was at the same time appointed Governor of Montreal.

Denonville, who was shortly followed by six hundred regulars, after a few hours' rest at Quebec, pushed on to Fort Frontenac. His lucid reports on the state of the country, sent to the King, are valuable historical documents. An act of treachery, however, left a stain on his name, and greatly embittered the Iroquois. Through the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, he induced fifty of their chiefs to meet him for a conference at Frontenac. To gratify a whim of the King, he seized their persons, and shipped them in irons to France to toil in the royal galleys. Though deeply incensed, the Iroquois, with a magnanimity shaming the perfidy of the Frenchman, spared the lives of the unwitting instruments of this cruelty, the Jesuit priests, and sent them unharmed out of the country.

In June, 1687, with eight hundred regulars, a thousand militia, and three hundred Indian allies, in four hundred batteaux, Denonville left Montreal to attack the Senecas. At the mouth of the Genesee River he was joined by four hundred Illinois Indians. The advance guard fell into an ambuscade, but with the aid of their red allies, the French defeated the Senecas with great loss. Denonville spent ten days ravaging the country, burning the villages, and destroying an immense stock of maize—over a million bushels, says one account—and a prodigious number

of hogs. Proceeding to the Niagara, he rebuilt La Salle's fort and garrisoned it with a hundred men. He also planted palisaded posts at Toronto, Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, and on the Illinois River, as a barrier against the encroachments of the English or their Iroquois allies.

The whole Five Nations now united to avenge the slaughter of the Senecas. They attacked and razed 1688 Fort Niagara, whose garrison, reduced by famine and disease to ten men, fled. They prowled like famished wolves all along the frontier. They lay in wait near every settlement thirsting for Christian blood. They ravaged the country, killed the cattle, burned the crops, and menaced the river seigniories, and even the garrison of Fort Frontenac. During this fatal year, over a thousand of the colonists fell by the scalping knife or tomahawk of their relentless foe, and as many more by the dreadful small-pox which devastated the country.

In this extremity, negotiations for peace were opened under the menace of a thousand Iroquois warriors at Lake St. Francis, who demanded the restoration of their betrayed chiefs, now toiling in the royal galleys in France. While the negotiations were pending, a crafty Huron chief, Kondiarak or the Rat, a forest Machiavelli, offended at the prospect of a treaty with his hereditary foe, by a deed of double treachery fell on an Iroquois embassy, and declared that he acted by the command of the French. He had effectually, as he boasted, "killed the peace." The incipient treaty was broken off, and the war was waged with intenser violence.

The culminating act in this bloody drama was the massacre of Lachine in 1689. On the night of August fifth, twelve hundred painted warriors landed amid a shower of hail on the Island of Montreal. Before day-break they lay in wait around every dwelling in the doomed village. At a given signal, the dreadful war-whoop awoke the sleepers to a death-wrestle with a pitiless foe. Men, women, and children were dragged from their beds and indiscriminately butchered with atrocious cruelty. The houses were fired, and two hundred persons perished in the flames. As many more were carried off for the nameless horrors of deliberate torture. For two

months the victors ravaged the island, the besieged inhabitants of Ville Marie cowering in mortal fear behind their palisades.

This "brain-blow" seems to have staggered the colony. Fort Frontenac was blown up and abandoned. The dominion of France in the New World was practically reduced to the forts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. At this hour of its deepest depression, Denonville was recalled, and the fiery Frontenac was re-appointed Governor.

CHAPTER IX.

FRONTENAC'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

1689. Frontenac re-appointed Governor.
1690. FRENCH INVASION OF NEW ENGLAND—Massacres of Corlaer and Salmon Falls.
“ First American Congress at New York.
“ Sir Wm. Phipps captures Port Royal—IS REPULSED AT QUEBEC.
1696. Iroquois ravages—Frontenac burns their towns.
D'Iberville in Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay.
1697. TREATY OF RYSWICK restores respective possessions of France and England.
1698. Death of Frontenac in his seventy-eighth year.

THE veteran soldier, now near seventy years of age, was hailed as the deliverer of Canada. He arrived at a critical period. The peril of the colony was increased by the declaration of war between France and England, in consequence of the Revolution of 1688, whereby James II. was driven from his throne by William III. Prince of Orange. The Governor had brought with him the chiefs so treacherously captured by Denonville, and having won their good will during the voyage, he sent them to their tribes, to conciliate, if possible, their favour.

M. de Callières, the Governor of Montreal, had already urged an attack upon the English at Albany and New York, whom he accused, and not without reason, of inciting the Iroquois to war. It was now resolved to act vigorously on the aggressive. A combined attack upon New York by land and water, was planned. Ships were dispatched from France to blockade the town; but wind and waves proved hostile, and the naval part of the project was abandoned.

In midwinter, Frontenac organized three expeditions to ravage, with fire and sword, the British colonies. Early 1690 in February, two hundred men, half French and half Indians, marched from Montreal through the snow to Corlaer (now Schnectady), near Albany. At midnight, in a bitter storm, they entered stealthily the little hamlet sleeping in fancied security with open and unguarded gates. The wild war-whoop was raised, and

sixty men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood, twenty-eight were taken prisoners, and every house was burned to ashes. It was not war; it was midnight murder. A few half-naked wretches escaped through the blinding snow storm to Albany. The French rapidly retreated, pursued by the English from Albany, and by a band of Mohawks, who cut off twenty-five of their number, and chased the way-worn survivors almost to the gates of Montreal.

Lieutenant Hertel, with fifty men from Three Rivers, after two months' weary march over a rugged country, fell on the little village of Salmon Falls, in New Hampshire, gave it to the flames, and carried off fifty-four prisoners. Returning, he joined a third party from Quebec, in an attack on the British fort at Casco Bay. For three days the fort held out, till its palisades were fired, when the garrison was handed over to the fiendish tortures of blood-thirsty savages. It is a dark and dreadful page in the annals of our country. Cruel wrongs were inflicted on either side, often upon the helpless and the innocent, and a heritage of hatred was handed down from sire to son, that embittered for generations the ruthless conflicts of neighbouring Christian peoples, who rivalled in deeds of pitiless savagery their pagan allies.

Eager to secure the allegiance of the Indian tribes of the north-west, and to retain the fur trade, Frontenac dispatched a strong convoy of goods to Mackinaw. The arrival at Quebec of three hundred western warriors in one hundred and ten canoes, with one hundred thousand crowns worth of furs, demonstrated the success of the movement.

The British colonies now began to act on the defensive. Sir William Phipps, a native of Maine, who had risen from before the mast to a baronetcy, and a captaincy in the royal navy,* with seven vessels and eight hundred men, captured and plundered the small French fort of Port Royal, in Acadia. In May, a congress of British colonists, the first ever held, assembled at New York to concert a scheme of combined action. A vigorous attack on Canada by land and water, was devised. Colonel

* He acquired great wealth by raising a Spanish galleon, sunk at Cuba with £300,000 treasure.

Winthrop, of Connecticut, with eight hundred militiamen and five hundred Iroquois, was to advance from Albany on Montreal, and Phipps, with thirty-five vessels and twenty-eight hundred men, was to attack Quebec. Frontenac heard, at Montreal, of the menaced invasion. Grasping himself the tomahawk, and chanting the war-song, he animated his twelve hundred Indian allies to the conflict. A partial famine and the outbreak of small-pox, caused the complete miscarriage of Winthrop's expedition.

Frontenac was now startled at learning that an English fleet was carefully sounding its way up the St. Lawrence. Hastening to Quebec, he mustered his forces, with the neighbouring seigniors and their *censitaires*, and his Indian allies, to the number of four thousand men, within the walls. Early in the morning of October fifth, the snowy sails of Phipps' fleet were seen by the anxious watchers on the ramparts, slowly rounding the headland of Point Levi. Anchoring near the town, Phipps sent a haughty summons to surrender in the name of William of Orange, King of England. Led blindfolded into the council chamber of the Chateau of St. Louis, the envoy, laying his watch upon the table, demanded an answer in an hour. "I will answer by the mouth of my cannon," defiantly replied the choleric Frontenac, and he soon opened a damaging fire on the fleet. Phipps ineffectively attempted to reply. His assaulting party of twelve hundred men, struggling in the marshes of the St. Charles and galled by the fire of the French and Indian sharpshooters, were repulsed with loss. They hastily embarked at night amid a violent storm, leaving their artillery behind. Nine vessels of Phipps' squadron were wrecked in his retreat. This signal victory was commemorated by a medal bearing the inscription *FRANCIA IN NOVO ORBE VICTRIX, KEBECA LIBERATA, A.D. MDCXC*, and by the erection of a church dedicated to "Notre Dame de la Victoire," still standing in the Lower Town.

All along the extended Canadian border the cruel warfare raged. The entire population of New France was only eleven thousand. That of New England was at least ten times as many. The Iroquois, who kept both nations in terror, were less than seven thousand, about two thou-

sand of whom were fighting men. The plucky Frenchmen continued to wage the unequal conflict. With their Abenakis allies they ravaged the New England frontier, and French corsairs swept the seaboard, and even cut out vessels in Boston harbour. The English cut the dikes, flooded the land, and slaughtered the cattle of the French settlements of Acadia. With the aid of their Iroquois allies, they made another dash at Montreal, and the remorseless savages infested the French settlements along the Richelieu, the St. Lawrence, and the Ottawa.

A reign of terror and sorrow, of desolation and death prevailed. "No Frenchman shall have leave to cut a stick," threatened the revengeful Mohawks; "they shall find no quiet even in their graves,"—and to a fearful degree they made good their threats. Along the frontier every house was a fortress, and every household was an armed garrison. Many were the deeds of daring done by lone women in defence of their hearths and babes, and pitiful the sufferings they endured. The footprints of civilization were marked with blood. The deadly ambush lurked on every side, and the death-dealing bullet from the unerring marksman concealed in the thicket menaced the starving peasant if he attempted to sow or reap his scanty acres. The culture of the soil was impossible, and famine threatened the land. In both the neighbouring countries a lavish paper currency was issued, and crippled trade languished almost to extinction. Society was returning to a state of savagery. Christian men, despising the vast heritage of virgin soil with which the great All-Father had dowered his children, red or white, in their mutual jealousy, and hatred, and unhallowed greed for gain, hounded their savage allies at each others' throats, and, crowning atrocity of shame! a tariff of prizes was offered for human scalps—from ten to fifty louis by the English, from ten to twenty by the French. Amid such horrors were the foundations of the Canadian nationality laid.

1695 To put an end to this reign of terror, Frontenac resolved on a supreme effort. He rebuilt the fort at Cataragui called by his name, and collected there a force of twenty-three hundred men, French and Indians,

for the punishment of the Iroquois. Crossing Lake Ontario they sailed up the Oswego river. In the march through the forest the veteran Governor, now seventy-six years of age, carried in his chair, commanded in person. The Iroquois, firing their villages, fled, leaving the smoking brands the profitless booty of the conqueror. To his lasting disgrace, Frontenac permitted the torture of a forest stoic of nearly a hundred years, from whom no sufferings could extort a single groan.

During these stormy years, M. D'Iberville, a native of Montreal, who had risen to a naval captaincy in the French service, was maintaining the supremacy of the French arms. In 1685, with MM. Troyes and Ste. Helène and eighty Canadians, he had traversed on snow-shoes six hundred miles of mountain, marsh, and forest to Hudson's Bay, and with many brave but bloody exploits had captured the British trading posts on that frozen sea. He subsequently ravaged in mid-winter the island of Newfoundland, burning the fishing town of St. Johns. In a series of bloody conflicts several forts of the island and the New England coast were taken and re-taken by the French and English several times. In 1697, with a single fifty-gun ship, he defeated in the waters of Hudson's Bay three British vessels, with one hundred and twenty-four guns, sending one to the bottom with all sail set, with the loss of every one on board; and conquered the whole territory for France. Thus the icebergs and rocky shores of this wild northern sea echoed with the international strife that was deluging the plains of Europe with blood, and carrying terror to every hamlet in New England and New France.

The treaty of Ryswick, signed September twentieth, 1697, put an end to the war in the Old World and the New, and restored to France and England the respective possessions held at its outbreak. The bloodshed and pillage, the wretchedness and ruin of eight long years counted for nothing; and the irrepressible conflict for the possession of a continent had to be fought over again and again. Frontenac soon after died at Quebec in the 1698 seventy-eighth year of his age. He was respected or admired by his friends for his energy and daring of character, and feared or hated by his enemies—and he

had many—for his stern and haughty manners and cruel temper in war. His lot was cast in troublous times, and he had at least the merit of preserving to France the colony which he found on the very verge of ruin.

On the declaration of peace, D'Iberville, the hero of Hudson's Bay, obtained a commission to colonize Louisiana. Exploring, planting, building from 1699 to 1702 in the hot, unwholesome swamps and lagoons of the Gulf coast, he founded Boloxi and Mobile. Smitten with yellow fever, he returned to France. Scarce convalescent, he captured from the British, Nevis, one of their West India possessions, and died of a second attack of yellow fever, in 1706, aged forty-four. Thus passed away one of the restless spirits of a stormy age, whose deeds of valour were unhappily also deeds of blood.

CHAPTER X.

"QUEEN ANNE'S WAR."

1700. De Callières succeeds Frontenac—TREATY WITH THE IROQUOIS.
1702. Detroit Founded—WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.
1703. Vaudreuil, Viceroy—The Abenakis ravage New England.
Massacres of Deerfield and Haverhill, 1704 and 1708.
1710. Port Royal captured, re-named Annapolis.
1711. Sir Hovenden Walker's disastrous attempt against Quebec.
1713. THE TREATY OF UTRECHT gives England Acadia, Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay.
Internal Development—Fur Trade—Manufactures—Law Reforms.
1720. Charlevoix visits Canada.
Murder of Rasles—Abenakis burn Brunswick.
Death of Vaudreuil—Forts Oswego and Frederic planted.

THE Chevalier de Callières, who had been for sometime the commandant of Montreal, was appointed successor of Frontenac. One of his first acts was the conclusion of a peace between the Iroquois, the French, and their western allies, who in 1700 sent envoys "to mourn over the French killed in the war," and to bury the hatchet forever. This treaty was ratified the following year before the walls of Montreal with feudal pageantry, amid the chanting of the *Te Deum*, and salvos of artillery, in an assembly of thirteen hundred plumed and painted savages, gathered from the wide region drained by the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The forest plenipotentiaries exchanged belts of wampum and smoked the pipe of peace with the civic and military dignitaries of New France, and signed their respective totems—the beaver, deer, or hare—to the treaty, which for several years they faithfully kept. The beauty and fashion of the frontier court lent the charm of their presence to the scene, and to the subsequent feast. The veteran and perfidious Indian statesman, Le Rat, after an eloquent oration, fell fainting to the ground. He died the next day, and was buried with military pomp in the parish church.

To maintain their grasp of the Great West, the French sent M. de Cadillac, with a hundred men, to build a fort

at Detroit, the key of the upper lakes. The wise choice of position is vindicated to day by the stately "City of the Straits" which occupies the site of the rude fortress of 1702. Having for four years and a half administered the affairs of the colony with great prudence, De Callières died in 1703, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, commandant of Montreal. During this year that malignant scourge, the small-pox, again ravaged the country, and carried off, it is affirmed, one-fourth of the population of Quebec.

The war of the Spanish Succession had now broken out between England and her continental allies, and France and Spain (May 15th, 1702), and all Europe and America were again involved in a bloody strife for the maintenance of a visionary balance of power. By the victories of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, Marlborough and Eugene won name and fame, and the power of France was broken at the cost of a sea of blood. Again the "dogs of war" slipped their leash amid the forests of the New World, and on its virgin soil the atrocities of human slaughter were repeated with aggravated horrors. The French stirred up their allies, the ferocious Abenakis, against the New England colonists. In one day they burst upon every house from the Kennebec to the Piscatqua, sparing neither hoary age, nor childing mother, nor tender infancy. Like human hyenas, they lay in wait for their prey, thirsting for blood, and, after the savage spring skulked off into the forest with the victims who were not slain upon the spot.

And Christian men surpassed in these deeds of blood the cruel pagan of the woods. In the mid-winter of 1703-1704, Hertel de Rouville, with two hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians, marched two hundred miles on snow-shoes to the little town of Deerfield, in New Hampshire. They laid it in ashes, and of its inhabitants, forty-seven bedabbled with their blood the snow, and one hundred and twelve were dragged with inhuman torture through the wintry woods to Canada. The worst passions of human nature were let loose. Aimless butchery ravaged the frontier, unrelieved save by the heroism of brave men dying for their hearthstones; and of even weak women avenging the murder

of their mangled babes ; or with unwearying mother-love escaping with their fatherless children through the trackless wilderness. Again, in 1708, De Rouville, not yet weary of slaughter, fell at daybreak on the sleeping hamlet of Haverhill, in New Hampshire. The tragedy of Deerfield was repeated ; but the inhabitants rallied, and many of the French returned from their hunting of human prey no more.

Meanwhile the English colonists retaliated as best they could. In 1704, and again in 1707, expeditions sailed from Boston harbour to reduce Acadia, but they were repulsed by the valour of the French. In 1708, the British were almost driven out of Newfoundland. The New England colonists appealed for help to the mother country, and General Nicholson, with two thousand militia and a band of Iroquois allies, marched against Canada. On the shores of Lake Champlain an epidemic broke out in his camp, caused, it was said, by the pollution of the neighbouring stream by the treacherous Iroquois, anxious still to hold the balance of power between the belligerents. A fleet which had been promised to attack Quebec failed to coöperate, and the campaign ended in disastrous retreat.

1710 The following year the long-delayed succours arrived, and Queen Anne defrayed from her private purse the cost of equipping four New England regiments. Too late in the season to act against Canada, a fleet of fifty vessels, with three thousand five hundred militia, sailed from Boston for the capture of Port Royal. After three weeks' siege, M. Subercase, its commandant, with his famished garrison of one hundred and fifty-six men, marched out with the honours of war ; and ever since the red cross flag has proudly waved over the noble harbour, then named, in honour of the reigning sovereign, Annapolis.

1711 On the thirtieth of July the following year, eighty-eight ships of war and transports, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, with five of Marlborough's veteran regiments and two regiments of colonial militia, sailed from Boston for the attack on Quebec. Four thousand militia and six hundred Iroquois, under General Nicholson, advanced simultaneously from Albany

to Lake George. The colonies created a large issue of paper money to meet the expenses of the expedition. Behind the walls of Quebec, which mounted a hundred guns, five thousand French, chiefly militia, awaited the attack; and at Chambly, three thousand men under De Longueuil guarded Montreal. Walker sailed slowly up the St. Lawrence, intending to winter in the river, and wondering how he should protect his ships when it would be frozen to the bottom; he thought he would place them in cradles on the shore. On the twenty-third of August, the fleet was enveloped in a fog, and amid the darkness drifted upon the reefs of the Egg Islands. Before morning, eight of his vessels were shattered, and eight hundred drowned sailors were strewn upon the shores. Sir Hovenden abandoned the attack on Quebec, General Nicholson retreated from Lake George, and the beleaguered fortress had another respite from conquest.

1712 The next year the infant settlement of Detroit, garrisoned by only a score of men, was attacked by six hundred of the Fox tribe of Indians; but they were almost exterminated by the Indian allies of the French, who rallied for its defence.

On the thirteenth of March, 1713, in the Dutch town of Utrecht, the treaty was signed which gave peace, not only to the war-worn nations of Europe, but also to the scattered colonists in the wilds of the New World. England obtained Acadia, Newfoundland, the protectorate of the Iroquois "nations," and the unexplored regions around Hudson's Bay. France, of all her vast colonial possessions, retained only Canada, Cape Breton, the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and certain fishing rights on the shores of Newfoundland, and the undefined territory of Louisiana.

The peace between Great Britain and France continued for over thirty years, and gave an opportunity for the development of the natural resources of the colonies. Vaudreuil began forthwith, in anticipation of the final struggle, to strengthen the defences of New France, and to extend the chain of forest forts connecting it with the Mississippi valley. A town was begun at Louisburg, Cape Breton, which became the home of many French refugees from the ceded provinces of Acadia and New-

foundland, and a fortress of immense strength was constructed as the seaward bulwark of the St. Lawrence, at the cost, when complete, of five millions of dollars. A system of defensive works was constructed at Quebec, and Montreal was surrounded by a stone wall. Remains of both of these are still visible. Fort Frontenac was strengthened, and, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Governor Burnet of New York, a new stone fort was erected at Niagara, controlling the navigation of Lake Erie.

But the growth of peaceful industry was a surer means of promoting national prosperity. The fur trade was relieved of some of its hampering restrictions, and an annual fair was established at Montreal. The English, however, drew off much of the trade to Albany and New York, offering three times the French price for peltries. English goods, in consequence, were largely smuggled into the country. Shipbuilding was encouraged, and Quebec laid the foundation of her distinguished reputation for this industry. Iron was manufactured at St. Maurice, and salt at Kamouraska. The interdiction was removed from the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth. Besides furs—timber, staves, tar, tobacco, flour, peas, and pork were exported in increasing quantities to France and the West Indies. The chief imports were manufactured goods, sugar, rum, and molasses. A considerable trade, in one year amounting to half a million of francs, sprang up with China in ginseng root, to which the Chinese attributed marvellous medicinal virtues. Tea was also introduced from that country. After the infusion was drunk, the leaves were eaten that nothing might be lost.

Judicial reforms were also introduced, tending to repress the litigious disposition of the people. A letter post was established, the country was divided into eighty-two parishes, and roads were made between the settlements to supplement the water communication. The absence of a local legislature, and the lack of secular education, left the general population in a torpid intellectual condition. At the same time, the absence of capital prevented the growth of manufactures, and the seigniorial tenure of the land, and its minute subdivision, through inheritance, by diminishing the stimulus to effort, tended

to perpetuate poverty, and prevented the growth of that intelligent, industrial population, which became the strength of New England. The fascinations of the adventurous fur trade were also especially unfavourable to agricultural prosperity. This trade successive edicts in vain attempted to repress, for with it every family in the colony was in some way connected. The English colonists, on the contrary, devoted themselves almost exclusively to agriculture, conquering yearly a broad domain of forest, and extending the frontiers of civilization; the fur trade was only a very subordinate industry. The *coureur de bois* had no English counterpart, although he may have had a few English imitators.

IN 1720-1722, Père Charlevoix traversed Canada and Louisiana, and wrote a voluminous and valuable history of the country. Quebec had then a population of seven thousand. Its society, which was largely military, he describes as very agreeable; but beneath its gay exterior—the reflex of the salons of Fontainebleau—was concealed a general poverty. Montreal had about two thousand inhabitants, and the entire Province about twenty-five thousand.

Although peace nominally prevailed, there was constant jealousy of the English, sometimes finding expression in overt acts of violence. The French assumed the protectorate of the Abenakis, as the English did of the Iroquois—an assumption generally resented by its objects in both cases. Among the former, the Jesuit Rasles had established a mission in the forests of Maine, at Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, and trained a choir of forty savage neophytes, arrayed in cassock and surplice, to chant the hymns and assist in the service of the chapel which his own hands had raised. To counteract the religious influence of Rasles, the English of Massachusetts sent a Puritan minister; but the system of Calvin presented less attraction to the savage mind than that of Loyola. Mutual aggressions led to an outbreak of hostilities. The Abenakis burned the town of Brunswick. The English, eleven hundred strong, sacked the French mission, and barbarously murdered the missionary. His countrymen regarded him as a blessed martyr, the English considered him the incendiary of a

savage war. Such were some of the episodes of an armed peace.

In 1725, after a skilful and prudent administration for a quarter of a century of colonial affairs, Vaudreuil died, beloved and regretted by those over whom he ruled.

He was succeeded by the Marquis de Beauharnois, a natural son of Louis XIV. Governor Burnet, a son of the distinguished Bishop of Sarum, jealous of the existence of Fort Niagara, established a fort, in defiance of the remonstrance of Beauharnois, at Oswego, in order to divert the Indian trade by way of the Mohawk and Hudson to New York. The French, in retaliation, greatly strengthened Fort Niagara, and shortly after built Fort 1731 Frederic at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, near the British frontier—a position of great strategic importance, and destined to be the scene of many a bloody conflict.

In 1728, an Indian outbreak in Illinois was suppressed by an expedition from Montreal by way of the Ottawa and Nipissing—an exhibition of vigour which increased the authority of France among the western tribes.

In 1743, the brothers Vérendrye reached the Rocky Mountains by way of Thunder Bay and the Saskatchewan, and claimed the whole country for France, sixty years before Lewis and Clarke had explored the sources of the Missouri and La Platte.

CHAPTER XI.

LOUISBURG—DU QUESNE.

- 1743. War of the Austrian Succession.
- 1745. PEPPEREL'S CONQUEST OF LOUISBURG.
- 1746. The Disastrous Attempt of the French at its Recapture.
- 1748. THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE RESTORES IT TO FRANCE.
- 1749. HALIFAX FOUNDED.
- 1750. Blood Shed at Beau Séjour.
Jonquière's Avarice and Bigot's Fraud.
- 1754. Fort Du Quesne Planted—Collision in the Ohio Valley.
The Death of Jumonville "Kindles the world into a flame."

IN 1739 England broke peace with Spain on account of her jealous restrictions of trade with her South American dependencies. Vernon captured Porto Bello, and Anson swept the Spanish Main and Pacific for Spanish treasure galleons.

In 1743 the question of the Austrian Succession plunged Europe into war. England, Austria, and Holland drew the sword in favour of the heroic Maria Theresa. France and other powers declared for her rival the Elector of Bavaria. The Stuart Pretender deemed the moment opportune for raising a Scottish revolt. In America the conflict of races was renewed. A body of French from Cape Breton surprised the English post at Canso, and carried off eighty prisoners to Louisburg. Annapolis was also attacked and well nigh taken. The New England colonists resolved to attempt the daring feat of the capture of Louisburg. Four thousand colonial militia were collected, and William Pepperel, a merchant and militia colonel of Maine, took command. On the twenty-ninth of April, 1745, a hundred vessels, large and small, among them a few ships of the royal navy, under Commodore Warren, having been detained many days by the thick-ribbed ice off Canso, sailed into the capacious harbour of Louisburg. This was one of the strongest fortresses in the world. It was surrounded by a wall forty feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet high, and by a ditch eighty feet wide. It mounted nearly two hundred guns, and had a garrison of sixteen hundred men. The assailants had only eighteen cannon

and three mortars. With a rush they charged through the surf, and repulsed the French who lined the steep and rugged shore. Dragging their guns through a marsh on sledges, the English gained the rear; the French in a panic abandoned an outwork, spiking their cannon.

On the twenty-first of May trenches were opened; on the sixteenth of June, Duchambon, the commandant, despairing of a successful resistance, capitulated, and the New England militia marched into the works. As they beheld their extent, they exclaimed "God alone has delivered this stronghold into our hand," and a sermon of thanksgiving was preached in the French chapel. A troop-ship with four hundred men and two valuable East India-men were captured in the harbour. The garrison and the inhabitants of the town, over four thousand in all, were conveyed to Brest.

The fall of the strongest fortress in America before a little army of New England farmers and fishermen caused the wildest delight at Boston and the deepest chagrin at Versailles. Beauharnois was recalled, and the Marquis de la Jonquière was appointed Governor-General of Canada.

1746 The following spring, a royal fleet of forty sail was dispatched to recapture Louisburg and Annapolis, and to destroy Boston. After a three months' voyage it was scattered by storms, a part only reaching the place of rendezvous, Chebucto (now Halifax) harbour. Scurvy broke out in the fleet, and carried off eleven hundred men. The admiral died of apoplexy, or, it was whispered, by poison. His successor, overwhelmed by the responsibility of his office, fell upon his sword and died. Jonquière ordered an attack upon Annapolis, which was frustrated by tempest, and the baffled expedition returned to France.

Undeterred by disaster, the French the next year fitted out two squadrons, one against the British East Indies, the other to recover Louisburg. Admirals Anson and Warren, however, intercepted and defeated both off Cape Finisterre, capturing many vessels and a great quantity of booty. Among the prisoners was Jonquière, thus again prevented from assuming the government of Canada.

1748 The peace of Aix la Chapelle, to the great chagrin of the New England colonists, restored Louisburg

to France in exchange for her East India conquest, Madras.

This peace was only accepted by both nations as a breathing spell to prepare for the coming struggle for the possession of the continent. The French endeavoured to restrict the British to the Atlantic sea-board; and Galissonnière, the acting Governor of Canada, a man of intrepid spirit though of deformed person, formally took possession of the whole country west of the Alleghanies, burying leaden plates with the armorial bearings of France in token of her sovereignty; and forbade the English traders to trespass on this territory, under pain of confiscation of their goods. He also projected and partly established a chain of forts from Montreal to the Ohio and the Mississippi.

To consolidate the British power in Nova Scotia, a strong colony was sent to the magnificent Chebucto harbour. It was named after Lord Halifax, its projector. In July, 1749, fourteen vessels transported thither nearly four thousand colonists, and before winter three hundred houses were constructed and defended by palisaded works, and Colonel Cornwallis was installed Governor. The Chevalier de la Corne, an impetuous officer, was sent with eleven hundred French and Indians to guard the ill-defined Canadian frontier. He built a fort at Beau Séjour, commanding the isthmus which connects Nova Scotia with the mainland, as a protection for refugee Acadians. Cornwallis sent Colonel Lawrence, with four hundred men, from Halifax to watch his movements.

1750 On his approach the Acadian peasants, at the instigation of their priests, burned the town of Beau-bassin, and retired to the protection of the French fort. Lawrence returned for reënforcements, and later in the season landed, though stoutly opposed, and built a fort in close proximity to Beau Séjour. Thus was the first blood shed between France and England, after the peace of Aix la Chapelle.

La Jonquière, liberated by the peace, had superseded Galissonnière as Governor,* and timidly followed the

*Galissonnière returned to France, served on the Boundaries Commission, rejoined the navy. and, after defeating the unhappy Admiral Byng at Minorca, died in 1756.

policy of his predecessor. He was consumed by an ignoble avarice, and used every means to enrich himself at the expense of the colony; yet even in his last hours he denied himself the comforts of life. Fraud and speculation impoverished the people, who demanded his recall; but he died before the arrival of his successor, Du Quesne.

1752 Bigot, his Intendant, was, if possible, even more corrupt than the miserly Governor, and added the vices of licentiousness and extravagance to those of meanness and avarice. He mocked the misery of the people by his ostentatious profligacy, and aped the sensualism of the court of Louis XV. at his palace in Quebec, and at his chateau at Beauport.

Du Quesne entered upon a vigorous aggressive policy. He organized and drilled the militia, garrisoned the western forts, and established new posts in the Ohio valley. The "Ohio Company," composed of London and Virginia merchants, had begun a settlement and 1754 fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, where Pittsburg now stands. A strong force of French, under M. Contrecoeur, seized the fort, and having completed its defences, gave it the name of Du Quesne. Meanwhile, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, had despatched a force under Colonel George Washington, then in the twenty-second year of his age, to hold the fort for the English. Contrecoeur sent M. Jumonville, with a small party of soldiers, to warn him off what was claimed as French territory. Washington, apprehending that their purpose was hostile, and eager to distinguish himself, surprised them in a narrow valley. The French sprang to arms. "Fire!" cried Washington. "That word," says Bancroft, "kindled the world into a flame." It precipitated the earth-shaking conflict on the plains of India, on the waters of the Mediterranean and the Spanish Main, on the Gold Coast of Africa, on the ramparts of Louisburg, on the heights of Quebec, and here in the valley of the Ohio, which led to the utter defeat of the French, and the destruction of their sovereignty on this continent. A sharp engagement of a few minutes ensued, in which Jumonville and ten Frenchmen fell, and twenty-one were captured. The French denounced the attack on Jumonville, while in the character of an envoy, as mur-

der ; but there is no evidence that Washington was aware of his commission.

Washington threw up entrenchments, which he named Fort Necessity, and with four hundred men held his ground for a month. Attacked by a superior force, he capitulated after ten hours resistance, leaving the entire Ohio valley in the possession of the French.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755.

1754. Convention of British Colonists at Albany.
William Johnson—British Naval Victories.
1755. BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT at the Monongahela.
The Expedition against Fort Niagara a Failure.
JOHNSON DEFEATS DIESKAU at Lake George.
The Acadian Neutrals—Micmac Outrages.
The Tragedy of Grand Pré—EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.

It was now felt that war was inevitable. A convention of deputies of the English colonies was forthwith held at Albany to concert measures of defence. The astute Franklin proposed a federal union after the manner of the league of the Six Nations, but imperial and provincial jealousy prevented its consummation. The French endeavoured to detach the Iroquois from the English, and planted a fort and mission at La Présentation (Ogdensburg); but their allegiance was secured through the influence of William Johnson, a nephew of Admiral Warren, who, having married the sister of an Iroquois chief, lived in feudal state at "Johnson's Hall," on the Mohawk river. His integrity of character commanded the respect of the Indians, and made him the bulwark of British authority upon the troubled frontier.

Du Quesne, preferring the French naval service, was recalled, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavanag, the son of a former Governor of Canada, was appointed his successor, 1755.

The British forces were strengthened by the arrival of General Braddock with two royal regiments, and the French were reënforced by Baron Dieskau with several veteran battalions. Admiral Boscawen intercepted a portion of the fleet bearing Dieskau's forces, off the Banks of Newfoundland. "Are we at peace or war?" inquired the French commander. A broadside from the Englishman was the answer, and the French soon struck their colours. Dieskau and Vaudreuil escaped under cover of a fog. The British forthwith swept the seas, and during

the year captured three hundred French vessels and eight thousand sailors.

On land it was resolved to attack the French at once at Forts Du Quesne, Niagara, Frederic, and Beau Séjour.

The main enterprise, that against Fort Du Quesne, was assigned to General Braddock. He was a brave soldier, but a martinet—arrogant, perverse, and obstinate. He attempted to wage war amid the wilds of America after the manner of a European campaign. He treated with disdain the provincial troops, and rejected the counsels of Washington and other backwoods fighters. With his little army of twenty-three hundred men and an immense baggage and artillery train, he hewed a road through the wilderness and over the Alleghany Mountains. Fearing the reënforcement of Fort Du Quesne, he left his heavy baggage with Colonel Dunbar, and pressed on with an advance body of twelve hundred men, and on the ninth of June had reached the neighbourhood of the Monongahela. It was a gallant sight—the bannered array, the scarlet uniforms, the gleam of bayonets, as the little army, with flying colours, unconsciously pressed on to its fate—the fife and drum corps making the forest ring with the inspiring strains of “The British Grenadiers.” As they entered a narrow defile, suddenly the deadly war-whoop rang, and a murderous fire was poured into their ranks by unseen enemies lurking amid the shadows of the primeval forest.

The British regulars were thrown into confusion, and, falling by scores, huddled together like sheep, till, panic-stricken, they broke and fled. In vain their officers sought to rally them. Braddock had five horses shot under him, and fell mortally wounded. The colonial troops under Colonel Washington displayed a steadiness that put the regulars to shame; but scarce one-fifth of their number left the field alive. Of the entire command more than half were killed or wounded. The fugitives fled through the night, and paused not till they reached the baggage camp forty miles back. They communicated their panic to Dunbar's troops, who broke up camp in dismay, burned their baggage, and precipitately retreated on Philadelphia. The French, who were only some two

hundred and fifty in number, attempted no pursuit, and their six hundred savage allies reaped a rich harvest of scalps and booty, and brilliant British uniforms. The assailants lost only forty men. This disastrous rout brought on the Pennsylvania and Virginia settlements all the horrors of a merciless border warfare. The western tribes seized their tomahawks and turned into one wide scene of havoc the entire English frontier.

The expedition against Fort Niagara failed even to reach its destination. Disheartened by Braddock's defeat, the militia deserted by scores ; and the Iroquois, wavering in their allegiance, disputed its right of way through their territory. Reaching Lake Ontario in August, Shirley, its commander, left seven hundred men to garrison Oswego, and returned with the remainder to Albany.

The expedition against Crown Point was more successful. General Johnson, with five thousand militiamen, advanced from Albany to Lake George. Dieskau, with a mixed force of two thousand men, made a detour to attack Fort Edward in his rear. Johnson sent a thousand men to intercept him. They fell into an ambuscade, were badly cut up, and retreated on the main body. Johnson prepared for an attack. Although this was his first campaign, he had planted his camp with great skill—flanked by marshes on the right and left, and protected by a breastwork of trees in front. The French advanced to the charge under a murderous fire ; but after a fierce contest of four hours, they were compelled to retreat precipitately, hotly pursued by the British, on their entrenched camp at Ticonderoga, at the northern end of the lake. They lost nearly as many as had the English in Braddock's defeat, and from the same cause—the rash confidence of the commander in the tactics of regular troops, as opposed to the skilled wood-craft of militiamen. Dieskau, being severely wounded, was made prisoner. Johnson, who had lost three hundred men, prudently declined the risk of leading his raw troops against the ramparts of Ticonderoga. Having built and garrisoned Fort William Henry, on the site of the conflict, he fell back on Albany, where his forces were disbanded. He received a grant of £5,000 and a knighthood for his achievement.

In the spring of the year Colonel Moncton, with forty-one vessels and two thousand men, had sailed from Boston to reduce Fort Beau Séjour, in the Acadian isthmus, to which the French still laid claim. Ill-manned by a few hundred refugees and a few soldiers, it soon capitulated, and was re-named Fort Cumberland. The Acadian peasants, on the beautiful shores of the Bay of Fundy, were a simple, virtuous, and prosperous community. With remarkable industry they had reclaimed from the sea by dikes many thousands of fertile acres, which produced abundant crops of grain and orchard fruits; and on the sea meadows, at one time, grazed as many as sixty thousand head of cattle. The simple wants of the peasants were supplied by domestic manufactures or by importations from Louisburg. So great was their attachment to the government and institutions of their fatherland, that during the aggressions of the English after their conquest of the country, a great part of the population—some ten thousand, it has been said, although the number is disputed—abandoned their homes and migrated to that portion of Acadia still claimed by the French, or to Cape Breton or Canada. Some seven thousand still remained in the peninsula of Nova Scotia, but they claimed a political neutrality, resolutely refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the alien conquerors. They were accused of intriguing with their countrymen at Louisburg, with resisting the English authority, and with inciting and even leading the Indians to ravage the English settlements.

The cruel Micmacs needed little instigation. They swooped down on the little town of Dartmouth, opposite Halifax, and within gunshot of its forts, and reaped a rich harvest of scalps and booty. The English prisoners they sometimes sold at Louisburg for arms and ammunition. The Governor asserted that pure compassion was the motive of this traffic, in order to rescue the captives from massacre. He demanded, however, an excessive ransom for their liberation. The Indians were sometimes, or indeed generally it was asserted, led in these murderous raids by French commanders. These violations of neutrality, however, were chiefly the work of a few turbulent spirits. The mass of the Acadian peasants

seem to have been a peaceful and inoffensive people, although they naturally sympathized with their countrymen, and rejoiced at the victory of Du Quesne, and sorrowed at the defeat of Lake George. They were, however, declared rebels and outlaws, and a council at Halifax, confounding the innocent with the guilty, decreed the expulsion of the entire French population.

The decision was promptly carried out. Ships soon appeared before the principal settlements in the Bay of Fundy. All the male inhabitants, over ten years of age, were summoned to hear the King's command. At Grand Pré, four hundred assembled in the village church, when the British officer read from the altar the decree of their exile. Loud was the outcry, and bitter the denunciation of the cruel mandate. But resistance was impossible; armed soldiers guarded the door, and the men were engaged in prison. On the fifth day they were marched at the bayonet's point, amid the wailings of their relatives, on board the transports. The women and children were shipped in other vessels. Families were scattered; husbands and wives separated—many never to meet again. It was three months later, in the bleak December, before the last were removed. Hundreds of comfortable homesteads and well-filled barns were ruthlessly given to the flames.

At Annapolis, a hundred householders, unwilling to abandon their homes, fled to the woods, and were hunted like beasts of prey. Others found refuge among the Indians, or escaped through the wilderness to Canada. A number, variously estimated at from three to seven thousand, were dispersed along the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Georgia. Circular letters were sent to the colonial Governors, requiring them to detain the exiles as prisoners. Twelve hundred were carried to South Carolina. A few planted a new Acadia among their countrymen in Louisiana. Some tried to return to their blackened hearths, coasting in open boats along the shore. These were relentlessly intercepted when possible, and sent back into hopeless exile. An imperishable interest has been imparted to this sad story by Longfellow's beautiful poem "Evangeline," which describes the sufferings and sorrows of some of the inhabitants

of the little village of Grand Pré. It is a page in our country's annals that is not pleasant to contemplate, but we may not ignore the painful facts. Every patriot must regret the stern military necessity—if necessity there were—that compelled the inconceivable suffering of so many innocent beings. Save the expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain, and of the Huguenots from France, history offers no parallel to this unhappy event.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1756 AND 1757.

- 1756. The SEVEN YEARS' WAR begun.
Respective condition of the French and English in America.
Montcalm captures Fort Oswego.
- 1757. Loudon's futile attempt against Louisburg.
Montcalm reduces Fort William Henry.
Indian Massacre of twelve hundred British Prisoners.
- 1758. Exhaustion of Canada—Famine.
Extortion and Profligacy of Bigot and his Associates.

NOTWITHSTANDING these hostile demonstrations, war was not formally declared till the following spring (1756). France, Austria, and Russia were combined against England and Prussia, for the prolonged and bitter struggle of the Seven Years' War. It seemed at first as though the combination must be fatal to Britain and her ally. But the political sagacity of William Pitt, and the military genius of Frederick the Great, with the lavish expenditure of treasure and blood, humbled their enemies and raised their respective countries to the summit of glory. The "Great Commoner" made good his proud boast that "England should moult no feather of her crest." Clive's stupendous victory on the plains of Plassey gave her her Indian Empire, and Wolfe's heroic death on the heights of Quebec was the price of the conquest of this great continent.

Nevertheless, the campaign of 1756 resulted disastrously to the British. The French military officers were far superior in dash and daring to their opponents. Montcalm, the Commander-in-Chief, had acquired experience and skill in Italy and Germany, and was audacious in battle even to the verge of rashness. De Levi and St. Veran, his military colleagues, were also able officers. The number of French regulars was increased to about four thousand, and the total available colonial forces amounted to only twice that number. The whole French population was scarcely eighty thousand, and it was ground down by feudal exactions, knavish commercial monopolies, and fraudulent public servants.

The British colonies, on the other hand, numbered three millions of inhabitants. Fostered by freedom and intelligence, these had become rich and prosperous. Though not deficient in valour, they possessed less of the military instinct, and were more addicted to peaceful industry, than their northern neighbours. The Earl of Loudon, a man utterly without military genius, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces. He was preceded by General Abercrombie, with two veteran regiments. The plan of operations comprehended expeditions against Forts Frederick, Niagara, Du Quesne, and Quebec; but delay and indecision frustrated these purposes, while promptness and vigour characterized the operations of the French.

While Abercrombie was awaiting reënforcements at Albany, Montcalm, with three thousand men, moved rapidly on Oswego, where a strong fort gave the British command of Lake Ontario. After a vigorous bombardment, the fort capitulated, with a garrison of sixteen hundred men, seven vessels, two hundred batteaux, and an immense quantity of military stores. After razing the fort, which he could not spare a sufficient number of men to garrison, Montcalm returned to Lake Champlain, and erected strong fortifications at Ticonderoga, at the entrance to Lake George, thus guarding the gate of Canada against the British. During the winter, an attacking force of fifteen hundred French and Indians advanced, on snow-shoes, from Montreal, nearly two hundred miles, to attempt the capture of Fort William Henry, at the southern end of the lake. Unable to surprise the fort, they burned all the outworks, together with the adjacent mills, dwellings, shipping, and batteaux, and carried consternation even within Abercrombie's entrenchments at Albany. Marauding parties of French and Indians ravaged the English frontier with fire and sword, swooping down on lonely settlements, in midnight attacks, and murdering and scalping the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex.

The following year, 1757, Lord Loudon resolved to make Louisburg the chief point of attack. In July he had assembled at Halifax a fleet of sixteen ships of the line and ninety transports, with ten thousand soldiers,

chiefly veteran troops. Here he wasted a month in mock battles and sieges. Learning that Louisburg was well garrisoned, and guarded by a fleet as strong as his own, he abandoned his design. Several of his vessels becoming disabled by a tempest, he returned ingloriously to New York.

Meanwhile, the indefatigable Montcalm took advantage of the diversion of attention toward Louisburg to strike a fatal blow at Fort William Henry, on Lake George. In July he had assembled at Ticonderoga a force of six thousand regulars and militia, and sixteen hundred savages of thirty different tribes. Early in August, the fort, now garrisoned by twenty-seven hundred men, under Colonel Munroe, was invested by the French, whose main body advanced, on a stormy night, in two hundred and fifty batteaux, the rest having proceeded by land. For five days, a fierce bombardment woke the wild echoes of the mountains, and by night illumined the engirdling forest and placid lake, while hundreds of yelling savages scoured the woods, cutting off and scalping all stragglers. At Fort Edward, within fifteen miles, lay the craven Colonel Webb, with four thousand troops ; but instead of endeavouring to relieve the besieged, he sent an exaggerated account of the number of the French, and a recommendation to surrender. Spurning his coward counsel, the gallant Munroe held out till half his guns were burst and his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and over three hundred and fifty men were killed and wounded, before he surrendered.

On the ninth of August a capitulation was signed, which allowed the British to march out with the honours of war, with flying colours and beating drums, and guaranteed an escort to Fort Edward. The English engaged not to serve against the French for eighteen months. On the surrender, a tragedy ensued which stained with the blood of its victims the laurels of the victors. As the garrison, with its camp following of women and children, was defiling through the woods, the blood-thirsty savages, balked of their anticipated harvest of scalps and plunder, and maddened by liquor, which the British had neglected to destroy, fell in ruthless massacre

upon the panic-stricken throng. The scanty escort in vain endeavoured to restrain the phrenzied wretches in their work of slaughter. Montcalm, De Levi, and other officers, interposed, with daring and devotion, to stop the massacre and to rescue the prisoners from their murderous assailants. Six hundred escaped through the woods to Fort Edward. The French sent thither, under a strong escort, four hundred more whom, not without personal danger, they had rescued, and afterwards ransomed two hundred others, who had been carried prisoners to Montreal. The remaining twelve hundred, there is reason to fear, were massacred or enslaved by the Indians. Montcalm disavowed all responsibility for the act; but the inhuman practice of engaging lawless savages as allies in the wars of civilized men, was the fatal cause of this and other like atrocities.

Montcalm razed Fort William Henry to the ground, and, deterred from a further advance by short allowance of food, the French returned to reap the scanty harvest of their Canadian fields. Naught remained to mark human habitation on the shores of the lonely lake save the charred ruins of the fort and the graves of the dead on the hill side.

Notwithstanding this victory, the condition of Canada was one of extreme exhaustion. During the weary months of winter, a severe famine prevailed. The cultivation of the fields had been abandoned to women and children, every able-bodied man being enrolled in the army. The meagre crops that had been sown were almost a total failure. The soldiers and citizens were put upon short allowance of horse-flesh and bread. The daily rations were continuously reduced till, in April, the allowance of bread was only two ounces. Men fell down from faintness in the streets of Quebec. Three hundred Acadian refugees perished of hunger.

During this period of general distress, Bigot, the Intendant, and his partners in crime and extortion—Cadet, Varin, De Pean, and others—battered like vampires upon the life-blood of their unhappy country. Bigot, the chief criminal, was mean in stature, repulsive in countenance, odious in life. His rapacity was almost incredible. He seized, in the King's name, all the grain,

cattle, and horses on which his minions could lay hands, and resold them through his agents at a tenfold increase in price. He actually, in this time of famine, exported large quantities of bread-stuffs to the West Indies, and made enormous profits from the enhanced cost of food at home. He, with his creatures, monopolized the commerce of the colony and the army contracts, defrauding both the King, the people, and the soldiers, by false entries, exorbitant charges, wholesale embezzlement, wretched supplies, and the most flagrant bribery, corruption, extortion, and robbery. He destroyed the financial credit of the colony by the lavish issue of paper money, which soon became utterly worthless. While the country languished, this gang of thieves amassed princely fortunes. Their houses were the scenes of the most unblushing profligacy, gambling, and licentious riot and excess. "It would seem," wrote Montcalm, "that all are in haste to be rich before the colony is altogether lost to France." They seemed even desirous to precipitate that loss in order that they might cover their own misdeeds.

The mother country was herself exhausted by the exactions of a world-wide war, and her civil and military administration was corrupted and enfeebled by the profligacy of the court. She could send few reënforcements of men or money, military stores or food, to the colony; and most of the victualling ships sent out in the spring of 1758, were captured by the British.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1758 AND 1759.

1758. PITT, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND.
FALL OF LOUISBURG.
ABERCROMBIE'S DEFEAT AT TICONDEROGA.
Bradstreet Captures Fort Frontenac.
Fort Du Quesne Reduced—Re-named Fort Pitt.
Hapless Condition of Canada—THE TOILS OF FATE CLOSING.
BRITISH VICTORIES AROUND THE WORLD.
The Hero of Louisburg.
1759. SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON REDUCES NIAGARA.
AMHERST OCCUPIES TICONDEROGA.

THE disasters of the British only served to arouse their intenser energy and firmer determination. WILLIAM PITT, for a time excluded from the cabinet of the nation, now seized the helm of state. His lofty courage, noble patriotism and honest administration were the guarantee of success. He resolved on the absolute conquest of Canada, even at the cost of England's "last shilling and last man." Lord Loudon was recalled, and Generals Abercrombie, Amherst, Wolfe and Howe were appointed commanders. The military forces were increased to fifty thousand men, twenty thousand of whom were British regulars. It was resolved to attack Louisburg, Du Quesne, Ticonderoga, Quebec and Montreal. The French girded themselves for what they felt to be the death-wrestle. "We will bury ourselves, if need be," wrote Montcalm, "beneath the ruins of the colony."

The first blow was struck at Louisburg. Its fortress had fallen greatly into decay since the siege of 1745; but it was garrisoned by three thousand five hundred men, and supported by ten ships of war. Early in June, Admiral Boscawen, with thirty-seven ships of war, and one hundred and twenty transports conveying twelve thousand troops, appeared off the harbour. For six days a rough sea, dashing in heavy breakers on the iron coast, prevented debarkation, the French meanwhile actively throwing up earthworks all along the shore. Early on the seventh day, Wolfe, with a strong force, gallantly

landed through the surf, and seized the outworks of the fort. The siege was vigorously pressed by day and night for seven weeks. The resistance was brave but ineffectual. With all but two of their vessels burned, captured or sunk, and with town and fortress well nigh demolished by shot and shell, Louisburg capitulated. Its inhabitants were conveyed to France, and the garrison and sailors, over five thousand in number, were sent prisoners to England. The fortress, constructed at such cost and assailed and defended with such valour, soon fell into utter ruin. Where giant navies rode and earth-shaking war achieved such vast exploits, to-day the peaceful waters of the placid bay kiss the deserted strand, and a small fishing hamlet and a few mouldering ruin-mounds mark the grave of so much military pomp, and power, and glory.

But this victory was followed by a terrible disaster. In the month of June, Lord Abercrombie, with an army of sixteen thousand men, had set out from Albany for the attack on Ticonderoga, and without misadventure reached Lake George. On a brilliant July morning he embarked his whole force in over a thousand batteaux, and in bannered pomp and splendour, with blare of music, flash of oars, and gleam of arms, sailed down the lovely lake to the narrows of Carillon, as the French called Ticonderoga. In a preliminary skirmish three hundred French were captured or killed; but Lord Howe, the favourite of the army, fell at the head of the column. Montcalm, who had with him nearly four thousand of his best troops, had strengthened a naturally formidable position by an earthwork half a mile in front of the fort, before which for a hundred yards sloped a steep glacis, covered with an impenetrable abattis of felled trees, the sharpened stakes pointing outward. Abercrombie rashly resolved on an attack in column without waiting for cannon. The assault was gallantly made. For six long hours, again and again the columns were hurled against the terrible abattis, and as often staggered and recoiled before a withering point blank fire of cannon and musketry. Baffled and broken, with the loss of two thousand men, the more than decimated army retreated panic-stricken to their batteaux, and speedily placed the

length of the lake between them and the victorious enemy. Abercrombie, bitterly chagrined, threw up an entrenched camp on the site of Fort William Henry, and was shortly after relieved of his command.

The disgrace of this disaster was partly retrieved by the capture of Fort Frontenac, the French naval depôt at the foot of Lake Ontario, by Colonel Bradstreet. With three thousand men he advanced by way of the Mohawk and Oswego, and crossing the lake in open boats, invested the fort, which was guarded by only one hundred and sixty men. After two days' bombardment it surrendered, and was burned to the ground, together with an immense quantity of stores and seven armed vessels. Thus, without the loss of a man, was destroyed the French naval supremacy on Lake Ontario.

In the west, General Forbes, with a force of six thousand provincials and regulars, advanced against Fort Du Quesne. Stricken with mortal illness, he was borne, a dying man, across the Alleghanies in a litter. A premature attack on the fort by Major Grant was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men. Colonel Washington, by his prudence and vigour, retrieved the disaster, and had the honour of planting the red cross flag on the ramparts of Fort Pitt, as it was thenceforth called. The name of the Great Commoner is inscribed for ever on the gateway of the Ohio valley, in the designation of the city of Pittsburg.

The toils were gathering around the doomed colony of Canada. A fervent appeal was made to the mother country for assistance. But the exhaustion produced by the European war and by the prodigality of the court, prevented the sending of reinforcements. "When the house is on fire," said the minister, "one does not mind the stables." The colonists rallied for a supreme effort for the defence of their hearths and homes. Famine stared them in the face. The half-tilled acres brought forth but meagre crops, and the shameless exactions of Bigot were more grinding than ever. The entire population from sixteen to sixty was summoned to the field, but though every sixth soul in the colony responded, they mustered only fifteen thousand, of whom many were unavailable for service. The chief dependence was

upon ten skeleton regiments of regulars, in which ghastly gaps were worn by siege and sortie, by famine and disease. To these the British opposed fifty thousand well armed troops and copious reserves. The French clergy exhorted the people to repentance and increased religious devotion, and invoked the aid of Heaven as their only succour. Differences of opinion arose, too, between Montcalm and Vaudreuil, the Governor, as to the plans of defence. The former desired his recall, but at the command of duty remained to lay his life an offering upon the altar of his country.

England, like a rampant lion, was rousing herself for conquest. The House of Commons voted £12,000,000 sterling for the war. Pitt infused his own spirit into every branch of the service. The world was ringing with British victories. A merchant's clerk, with a handful of men, had conquered an empire where the foot of Alexander had faltered. Senegal, Goree, Guadaloupe, her fairest tropical possessions, were wrested from France. On the bloody plain of Minden, her choicest troops were crushed before the British lines. At Quiberon Bay, her fleet, destined for the invasion of England, was shattered by the gallant Hawke. Alike on the banks of the Ganges and on the banks of the Ohio, on the forts of the Gold Coast and on the ramparts of Louisburg. the red-cross banner waved triumphantly, and it was destined soon to crown the heights of Quebec. In the Indian Seas, on the Spanish Main, on the Atlantic. and on the Pacific, Britain's fleets were everywhere victorious.

Pitt chose his instruments well. With the instinct of genius he discerned the surpassing merit of the young hero of Louisburg, and entrusted to him the conquest of Quebec. Though only thirty-three years of age, Wolfe was a veteran soldier, having been eighteen years in the army. At twenty-two he was a Lieutenant-Colonel, and at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Culloden, by his almost reckless bravery, he had won distinguished honours. Though raised so rapidly to the rank of general, even envy breathed no word of detraction against his name, and he commanded the love and admiration of the entire army.

To Amherst was assigned the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the capture of Montreal; and to Prideaux the destruction of Fort Niagara. These movements were sustained by forces amounting to fifty thousand men, which were to concentrate at Quebec for the last act of the drama.

The French had rebuilt Fort Frontenac, strengthened the garrison at Niagara, and occupied the passes of Carillon and the St. Lawrence. Their diminished forces were to act strictly on the defensive, retiring, in case of defeat, on Quebec, where the final stand was to be made.

The first blow fell on Niagara. General Prideaux, with four thousand regulars and militia, and a large body of Iroquois under Sir William Johnson, advanced by way of the Mohawk and Oswego to Lake Ontario. Leaving a force of occupation at Oswego, he advanced in many batteaux to Niagara, and early in July, 1759, invested the fort situated at the mouth of the river. A brisk fire was opened, but Prideaux being killed by the bursting of a mortar, the command devolved on Johnson. M. Pouchot, the French commandant, had summoned to his aid the garrisons of Detroit, Presqu'isle, and the western forts. M. D'Aubrey was hastening to his relief with a force of seventeen hundred French and Indians, when he was intercepted below the Falls by Johnson, and utterly defeated, with the capture of the greater part of his force. Hereupon Pouchot surrendered, with six hundred men. The control of the great lakes passed away from the French for ever, and General Stanwix speedily reduced all the western forts.

In the month of June, General Amherst, with an army eleven thousand strong, reached Lake George from Albany, and began the erection of Fort George, on the site of Fort William Henry. After a month's delay, the army advanced in four columns down the lake. Mindful of Abercrombie's disaster, Amherst observed exceeding caution on approaching the lines of Carillon. But the genius of Montcalm was absent, and De Bourlemaque, abandoning the lines crowned with the victory of the previous year, retired within the fort, which was garrisoned with three thousand men. After four days

vigorous resistance, the fort was mined, fired, and abandoned. A tremendous explosion occurred, but Amherst promptly occupied the smoking ruins. Fort Frederic (Crown Point) was also abandoned by the French, who strongly entrenched themselves at Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, which they determined to hold to the last extremity, as the gateway of Canada. Amherst, more cautious than enterprising, instead of forcing the pass, spent the summer in constructing vessels to enable him to cope with the little fleet of the French upon the lake. When the vessels at length were ready, the storms of autumn prevented further effort, and the army went into winter quarters.

Similar tardiness characterized the action of General Gage, who had superseded Johnson in command of Prideaux's army. He had been instructed to make a demonstration from Oswego against La Presentation (Ogdensburg), where the French had established a strong post ; but the season passed away without any vigorous effort to carry out his part of the military programme.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

1759. Wolfe before Quebec.

The Siege opened—Straits of the Inhabitants.

The Attack at Montmorency—Its disastrous Failure.

Wolfe's Illness—An audacious Design—The Eve of the Battle.

The British gain the Heights.

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

THE DEATH OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM.

British Occupation of Quebec.

1760. BATTLE OF STE. FOYE—French Siege of Quebec raised.

SURRENDER OF MONTREAL AND CAPITULATION OF CANADA.

THE last act of this historic drama, the conquest of Quebec, must now be described. Simultaneously with the operations of Prideaux and Amherst upon the outposts of Canada, Wolfe was attacking its heart and menacing its very life. In the month of May the British fleet, of about forty war vessels and a number of transports conveying eight thousand troops, rendezvoused at Louisburg, and toward the end of June arrived safely before the heights of Quebec. Wolfe promptly occupied the Island of Orleans, the left bank of the Montmorency, and Point Levi, opposite the city. As he viewed the steep escarpment and the frowning batteries that lined the river front, the position of the French seemed almost impregnable. Montcalm had mustered a force of some thirteen thousand men of every age, from boys of thirteen to veterans of eighty, and had strongly fortified with redoubts and earthworks the precipitous banks, from Cape Rouge, eight miles above Quebec, to Montmorency, as far below. De Bougainville commanded the right wing of the army to the west of the city, De Levi the left on the extreme east, and Montcalm held the centre with the bulk of the army, while Indians scoured the woods on the flanks and in the rear. A strong boom, sunken ships and floating batteries, closed the mouth of the St. Charles, and shoal water and mud flats, along the Beauport shore, made landing almost impossible. Fire rafts and fire

ships were repeatedly launched on the ebb tide against the British fleet, but they were always intercepted by the British tars, and towed ashore without having accomplished any injury.*

The batteries at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, during the month of July, poured such an incessant fire into the doomed city, that conflagrations were of almost daily occurrence, and soon the greater part of both Upper and Lower Town was in ruins. No less than five hundred buildings, including the cathedral and principal edifices, were destroyed. Many persons were killed in the streets, and non-combatants were forced to retire for safety into the country. Wolfe's plan was to force Montcalm's lines if possible, and bring him to an engagement. But the French stood strictly on the defensive, except that their Indian scouts cut off and scalped stragglers from the British lines. In retaliation, and as a measure of military necessity, we must suppose—for he was a man of humane instincts—Wolfe ravaged the country and burned the villages both above and below Quebec. He forbade, however, personal violence to prisoners and non-combatants, on pain of death. The beleaguered city was reduced to the severest straits. "We are without hope and without food," said an intercepted letter; "God hath forsaken us." Such are the tender mercies of war, even between two chivalric nations, and conducted by two generous commanders.

On the last day of July, Wolfe resolved to force Montcalm to an engagement. Under cover of a furious fire from the fleet, a strong party of British, in spite of rocks and shoals, and stubborn opposition, landed at the foot of the snowy Falls of Montmorency, and at low tide forded its brawling stream. Without waiting for supports, the van rushed impetuously up the steep escarpment, crowned with the redoubts of the enemy. A storm burst upon them. Stumbling on the now slippery incline, and their ammunition soaked with rain, they were hurled back in disastrous defeat by a crushing fire from the French entrenchments. Four hundred and

* It is a somewhat curious coincidence that James Cook, the distinguished navigator, and Bougainville, the first French circumnavigator of the globe, were engaged in the service of their respective countries in this memorable siege.

fifty gallant men lay dead or wounded on the gory slope.

Chagrin and grief at this disaster threw the young commander into a well-nigh fatal fever. His heroic soul was housed in a frail body. Tossing on his restless couch of pain, he felt that the eyes of his country were upon him, and the disappointment of its expectations was anguish to his spirit.

An effort was made to open communications with Amherst, lying idly at Crown Point, but without success. The season was rapidly passing, and whatever was to be done must be done quickly. Wolfe determined on an attempt bold even to the verge of rashness, but its audacity was the secret of its success. Masking his designs by feints against Beauport, he moved the bulk of his army and the fleet up the river above the city, despite the heavy fire from the batteries of Quebec.

On the early moonless morning of September thirteenth, before day, the fleet dropped silently down the river with the ebbing tide, accompanied by thirty barges containing sixteen hundred men, which, with muffled oars, closely hugged the shadows of the shore. Pale and weak with recent illness, Wolfe reclined among his officers, and in a low tone, blending with the rippling of the river, recited several stanzas of the recent poem, Gray's "Elegy, written in a Country Churchyard." Perhaps the shadow of his own approaching fate stole upon his mind, as in mournful cadence he whispered the strangely prophetic words,

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

With a prescience of the hollowness of military renown, he exclaimed, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow."

Challenged by an alert sentry, an officer gave the countersign, which had been learned from a French deserter, and the little flotilla was mistaken for a convoy of provisions expected from Montreal. Landing in the deeply-shadowed cove which has since borne Wolfe's name, the agile Highlanders climbed lightly up the steep and narrow path leading to the summit. "Qui vive?" demanded the watchful sentinel. "La France," replied

a British captain, and in a moment the guard was overpowered. The troops swarmed rapidly up the rugged precipice, aiding themselves by the roots and branches of the stunted spruces and savins, the barges meanwhile promptly transferring fresh reënforcements from the fleet.

When the sun rose, the plain was glittering with the arms of plaided Highlanders and English red-coats forming for battle. The redoubled fire from Point Levi, and a portion of the fleet, upon the devoted city and the lines of Beauport, held the attention of Montcalm, and completely deceived him as to the main point of attack. A breathless horseman conveyed the intelligence at early dawn. At first incredulous, the gallant commander was soon convinced of the fact, and exclaimed, "Then they have got the weak side of this wretched garrison, but we must fight and crush them;" and the roll of drums and peal of bugles on the fresh morning air summoned the scattered army to action. With tumultuous haste, the skeleton regiments hurried through the town and formed in long thin lines upon the Plains of Abraham. They numbered seven thousand five hundred famine-wasted and disheartened men. Opposed to them were five thousand veteran troops, eager for the fray, and strong in their confidence in their beloved general. Firm as a wall these awaited the onset of the French. In silence they filled the ghastly gaps made in their ranks by the fire of the foe. Not for a moment wavered the steady line. Not a trigger was pulled till the enemy arrived within forty yards. Then, at Wolfe's ringing word of command, a simultaneous volley flashed from the levelled guns and tore through the adverse ranks. As the smoke-wreaths rolled away upon the morning breeze, a ghastly sight was seen. The French line was broken and disordered, and heaps of wounded strewed the plain. Gallantly resisting, they received another deadly volley. With cheer on cheer the British charged before they could reform, and, trampling the dying and the dead, swept the fugitives from the field, pursuing them to the city gates, and to the banks of the St. Charles. In fifteen minutes was lost and won the battle that gave Canada to Great Britain. The British loss was six hun-

dred killed and wounded ; that of the French was more than twice as many.

Besides the multitude of slain on either side, whose death carried desolation into many a humble home, were the brave commanders of the adverse hosts. Almost at the first fire, Wolfe was struck by a bullet that shattered his wrist. Binding a handkerchief round the wound, he led the way to victory. In a moment a ball pierced his side, but he still cheered on his men. Soon a third shot lodged deep in his breast. Staggering into the arms of an officer, he exclaimed, "Support me ! Let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was borne to the rear, and gently laid upon the ground. "See ! They run !" exclaimed a bystander. "Who run ?" demanded Wolfe, arousing as from a swoon. "The enemy, sir ; they give way everywhere," was the reply. "What ! Already ?" said the dying man, and he gave orders to cut off their retreat. "Now, God be praised," he murmured, "I die content," and he gently breathed his last.

His brave adversary, Montcalm, also fell mortally wounded, and was borne from the field. "How long shall I live ?" he asked the surgeon. "Not many hours," was the reply. "I am glad of it," he said, "I shall not see the surrender of Quebec." He died before midnight, and, coffined in a rude box, was buried amid the tears of his soldiers in a grave made by the bursting of a shell.

Bougainville, who had menaced the rear of the British, withdrew to Cape Rouge, and Vaudreuil, with fifteen hundred militia, abandoned the lines of Beauport, leaving his heavy guns and stores behind. The conquerors immediately began the construction of an entrenched camp on the plain, and in three days had a hundred and twenty guns and mortars in position for the siege of the city. But wasted with famine, and its defenders reduced to a mere handful, the beleagured fortress surrendered, and on the eighteenth of September, 1759, the rock-built citadel of Quebec passed for ever from the dominion of France. It was strongly provisioned and garrisoned, and the hunger of the wretched inhabitants relieved from the stores of the conqueror.

The tidings of the conquest filled Old and New England with pride and exultation. The joy-bells pealed and

bon-fires blazed throughout the land. But the victory brought pangs of anguish to two loving hearts—those of the widowed mother and of the affianced bride of the gentle hero, who, amid the glory of arms, yearned for the quiet joys of domestic life. England gave his body a grave, and his fame a monument in the mausoleum of her mighty dead, and inscribed his name in her glorious bead-roll of immortal souls, who, for her sake, freely laid down their lives.

Near the scene of their death a grateful people have erected a common monument to the rival commanders, who generously recognized each other's merit in life, and now keep for evermore the solemn truce of death. The two races that met in the shock of battle dwell together in loving fealty, beneath the protecting folds of one common flag.

England had never known a year of such triumphs as this. In all parts of the world her arms were victorious. At Lagos, at Quiberon, at Minden, at Quebec, her fleets or armies won new renown. "We must ask every morning," said Horace Walpole, "what new victory there is." Nevertheless, France was not to surrender her fairest possession without another struggle. M. de Levi, 1760 early in the spring, collected ten thousand men at Montreal, and toward the end of April attempted the recapture of Quebec. The winter had been one of intense severity, and to the French one of unexampled dearth and distress. The garrison of General Murray was worn down by the labour of procuring fuel and maintaining a defence against frequent harassing assaults. Its effective strength was reduced by deaths, scurvy, frost-bites, and other casualties, from seven thousand to less than half that number.

On the twenty-seventh of April, De Levi's van appeared, and drove in the British outposts. The following day, with more valour than prudence, Murray marched out to give battle against overwhelming odds. He attacked the French with spirit on the Ste. Foye road, but was outflanked and outnumbered. After a hot contest of two hours, he was compelled to retreat, with the loss of a thousand men, killed or wounded. The French loss in this fruitless battle was still greater.

De Levi pressed the siege for eighteen days, maintaining a feeble fire from fifteen guns. The garrison, reduced to two thousand effective men, speedily got a hundred and thirty guns in position, and kept up a vigorous reply, the women and wounded making sand bags and gun wads. Besiegers and besieged both looked for aid from an expected fleet. Eager eyes were strained continually toward Point Levi for signs of its approach. At length a strange frigate rounded the headland, amid the anxious suspense of the beholders. As the Union Jack was run up to the peak, cheer on cheer rang from the ramparts, and deep chagrin filled the hearts of the besiegers in the trenches. Soon two other vessels arrived, the French shipping was attacked and destroyed, and De Levi made a hasty retreat, abandoning tents, baggage, and siege train in his flight.

He retired to Montreal, there to make the last stand for the possession of Canada. His broken battalions melted rapidly away, the famished militia deserting by thousands, in order to succour their suffering families. Three English armies converged on the heart of the colony, where life still feebly beat. General Murray, with all his available force, advanced from Quebec, receiving the submission of the inhabitants. Colonel Haviland, with three thousand men, hastened from Crown Point by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, occupying the forts evacuated by the French. General Amherst proceeded from Albany, with ten thousand men, by the strange detour of the Mohawk and Oswego rivers to Lake Ontario, and thence down the St. Lawrence. He captured the French fort at La Presentation (Ogdensburg), after a brief but vigorous resistance, and resolutely defended the garrison from menaced massacre by the Iroquois. In the arrowy Cedar Rapids ninety men and many boats were lost. The three armies reached Montreal on three successive days, and on the eighth of September, sixteen thousand men beleaguered the devoted town, the last stand of French fidelity and valour. It was defended only by frail walls and by three thousand war-wasted men. Resistance was impossible. The most heroic courage could do no more. The same day, De Vaudreuil signed the capitulation which severed Canada from France for ever.

CHAPTER XVI.

BRITISH RULE.

1760. BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF THE CONQUEST.
State of the Country—Military Government.
Impeachment and Punishment of Bigot.
1763. THE PEACE OF PARIS transfers most of the French Colonial Possessions to Great Britain.
CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC—Siege of Detroit—Massacres in the West.
Jealousies of French and English races—Reorganization of Society.
Law Reforms—Seigniorial Land Tenure obnoxious to the British.
1774. THE QUEBEC ACT extends the Boundaries of Canada to the Mississippi, and secures Civil and Religious Immunities to the French.
Organization of Government in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

THE conquest of Canada by the British was the most fortunate event in its history. It supplanted the institutions of the middle ages by those of modern civilization. It gave local self-government for abject submission to a foreign power and a corrupt court. It gave the protection of Habeas Corpus and trial by jury instead of the tribunals of feudalism. For ignorance and repression it gave free schools and a free press. It removed the arbitrary shackles from trade, and abolished its unjust monopolies. It enfranchised the serfs of the soil, and restricted the excessive power of the seigniors. It gave an immeasurably ampler liberty to the people, and a loftier impulse to progress, than was ever before known. It banished the greedy cormorants who grew rich by the official plunder of the poor. The waste and ruin of a prolonged and cruel war were succeeded by the reign of peace and prosperity; and the pinchings of famine by the rejoicings of abundance. The one hundred and fifty-seven years of French occupancy had been one long struggle against fearful odds—first with the ferocious savages, then with the combined power of the British colonies and the mother country. The genius of French Canada was a strange blending of the military and religious spirit. Even commerce wore the sword, and a missionary enthusiasm quickened the zeal of her early explorers. The reign of

peaceful industry was now to succeed that of martial prowess, and was to win victories no less renowned than those of war.

As a provisional measure, till a treaty of peace should define the future relations of the country, a military government was organized in Canada. The country was divided into three jurisdictions—Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers—ruled respectively by Generals Murray and Gage, and Colonel Burton. This military rule, though distasteful to the conquered, tempered firmness with kindness, and repressed sedition while it protected loyalty. The free exercise of their religion was accorded to the people, and their more pressing necessities were generously relieved. The militia were sent to their homes, and the regular soldiers, three thousand in number, were conveyed to France. A considerable exodus of the noblesse, officials, and merchants also took place. Financially, the colony was bankrupt. Bigot's paper currency, which had flooded the country, was worthless, and great commercial depression ensued. M. de Vaudreuil, the late Governor, together with Bigot and other members of the "Grand Company," on their return to France were thrown into the Bastille, for alleged malfeasance of office. The Governor was honourably acquitted. After fifty-six years faithful service of the crown, he returned to his native country poor, having sacrificed his private fortune for the public weal. The crimes of the Intendant were more than proven. He and his fellow-cormorants were compelled to disgorge their ill-gotten plunder, to the amount of nearly twelve million francs, and were exiled from France for ever.

In October, 1760, George III. became King. The very eminence of Pitt made him obnoxious to the crown and nobles. The Great Commoner resigned office, and was offered the government of Canada, but the not very tempting offer was declined. Still, the impulse of Pitt's policy enabled England, Prussia, and little Portugal to withstand the combined power of Europe. The naval victories of Watson and Pococke, and the conquest of the Philippines and Cuba, though overshadowed by the horrors of the siege of Havana, maintained the ancient supremacy of the "sea-girt isle." The awful ravages of the

Seven Years' War had desolated a large part of Europe, had slain a million of men, accumulated a mountain of debt, and produced a heritage of international hate and domestic grief, when the Peace of Paris again gave rest to the war-wearied world, 1763. France surrendered to Great Britain the whole of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Canada, and the Great West to the valleys of the Wabash and the Illinois, and the fair and fertile West India islands of Gaudaloupe, Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, Martinico and Dominica, and her East India possessions; and Spain gave up Florida and all her territory east of the Mississippi. "Never," exclaimed the exultant King, "did any nation in Europe sign such a peace before." Yet there were not wanting prophets to foretell that these great colonies would not always remain subject to the little island beyond the sea.

Soon after the cession of Canada, the red cross of St. George supplanted the liliated flag of France on the wooden redoubts of Presqu'isle, De Bœuf, Venango, Detroit, Miamis, Mackinaw, and other forts in the west. The red allies of the French no longer received the courteous treatment nor the politic presents to which they had been accustomed. A wide-spread dissatisfaction prevailed in the forest wigwams. This was fanned to a flame by the arts and eloquence of Pontiac, a noted chief, who sought to exterminate the English and restore the supremacy of his race. With the wiles of a Machiavelli, he laid a deep conspiracy for the simultaneous rising of all the tribes on the shores of the upper lakes, in the Ohio valley, and on the borders of the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania settlements. They were to seize the forts, murder the garrisons, and ravage the frontier. A young squaw, through the influence, it is said, of a romantic attachment, revealed the plot to the commandant at Detroit, whose garrison was therefore on the guard. For fifteen months the savages beleaguered the fort—an unexampled siege in Indian warfare—defeating successive forces sent to its relief. To obtain food for his warriors, Pontiac, in imitation of European finance, issued promissory notes, drawn upon birch bark and signed with his own totem, an otter; all of which, on their maturing, were faithfully redeemed.

The other forts throughout the west, with scarce an exception, were reduced by stratagem, by assault, or by siege, and the frontier was ravaged with fire and scalping knife. About two thousand, it is said, were massacred. The Indians swarmed on the border settlements, skulked through the forests, lay in wait near the clearings, shooting down the farmers in the field, scalping the housewife by her hearthstone, tomahawking the babe in its cradle. Strong expeditions under General Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet defeated the savages, rescued several hundreds of prisoners from their cruel captors, and restored them amid scenes of touching pathos and rejoicing to their anxious friends. Sir William Johnson made separate treaties of peace with most of the western tribes at a great council held at Fort Niagara, 1764. Pontiac submitted to English rule, and five years after this was killed near St. Louis, while drunk, by an Illinois Indian.

After the Peace of Paris, Canada was formally annexed to the British possessions by royal proclamation. British subjects were invited to settle in the province of Quebec by the promise of the protection of British laws, and of the establishment, as soon as the circumstances of the country would admit, of representative institutions. Liberal land grants were also made to military settlers. A civil government, consisting of Governor and Council, was formed, and courts were established for the administration of justice in accordance with the laws of England. The printing press—that palladium of free institutions—was first introduced into Canada in 1764, and on the twenty-first of June, the first number of the *Quebec Gazette*, which is still published, made its appearance.

The “new subjects,” as the French were called, soon found themselves placed at a disadvantage as compared with the British settlers, or “old subjects.” The latter, although as regards numbers an insignificant minority—less than five hundred in all, chiefly half-pay officers, disbanded soldiers, and merchants—assumed all the prerogatives of a dominant race, engrossing the public offices to the exclusion of the sons of the soil. The terms of the proclamation were interpreted, like the law of England for sixty-five years later, as excluding Roman Catholics from all offices in the gift of the state. The French were

willing to take the oath of allegiance to King George, but even for the sake of public employment would not forswear their religion.

The British privilege of trial by jury, that safeguard of popular liberty, was little appreciated, accompanied as it was by increased expense and by the inconvenience of being conducted in an unknown language. The simple habitants preferred the direct decision of the judge in accordance with their ancient customs.

General Murray, by his conciliatory and equitable treatment of the conquered race, as far as possible within the limits just indicated, evoked the jealousy and complaint of the English place-hunters, many of whom were thoroughly mercenary and corrupt. His policy was approved, however, by the Home Government, and was adopted by his successor in office, Sir Guy Carleton. As to legal matters a compromise was effected. In criminal cases trial by jury and English forms were observed. In civil cases—those affecting property and inheritance—the old French laws and procedures were allowed to prevail. The English settlers, however, objected strenuously to several features of the land laws. The feudal tenure, by which, on every transfer of real estate, one-twelfth of the purchase money must be paid to the seignior within whose seigniority the land lay, was especially obnoxious. This was a heavy tax on all improvements, buildings and the like; and greatly discouraged the growth of towns, and drainage of land or other modes of increasing its value. The French also opposed the registration of deeds, either from ignorant apathy or on account of the, as they conceived, needless expense. Consequently British land purchasers or mortgagees sometimes found themselves defrauded by previous mortgages, to which the French law permitted a sworn secrecy. Notwithstanding these and other anomalies, the country entered on a career of prosperity, and began to increase in population, agricultural and commercial.

At length, after long delay, in 1774, as a definite settlement of the government of the colony, the Quebec Act was passed by the British Parliament. It extended the bounds of the province from Labrador to the Mississippi, from the Ohio to the watershed of Hudson's Bay.

It established the right of the French to the observance of the Roman Catholic religion, without civil disability, and confirmed the tithes to the clergy, exempting, however, Protestants from their payment. It restored the French civil code, and established the English administration of law in criminal cases. Supreme authority was vested in the Governor and Council, the latter being nominated by the crown, and consisting, for the most part, of persons of British birth.

The English-speaking minority felt that their rights were sacrificed. They were denied the promised elective Assembly, deprived of the protection of the Habeas Corpus Act, and, in certain cases, of trial by jury, and were subjected to the civil code of a foreign country. Fox, Burke, Chatham and Townshend protested against the injustice in the Imperial parliament, as did also the merchants and Common Council of London. But the Act was received with delight by the French population, and continued for seventeen years the rule of government.

The province of Nova Scotia had accorded to it a legislature of twenty-two members as early as 1758. In 1763, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island were brought under its government. In 1773, the latter was constituted a distinct government, when its population numbered only some hundred and fifty families. It had previously been divided into allotments which were distributed by lottery among the officers of the army and navy. Instead of taxes the tenants paid a quit-rent, which, however, did not meet the expenses of government. Early in the century it received a hardy population of four thousand Highlanders under the patronage of the Earl of Selkirk.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Causes of the American Revolution.

1773. The Stamp Duties—The "Boston Tea Party."

1775. Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill.

AMERICAN INVASION OF CANADA.

Montgomery occupies Montreal—INEFFECTIVE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

Death of Montgomery—Defeat of Arnold.

1776. American Invasion Repulsed—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

1777. Burgoyne's Advance from Canada and SURRENDER AT SARATOGA.

1779. Governor Carleton resigns—Is succeeded by General Haldimand.

1783. Recognition of American Independence—THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES makes the Great Lakes the Western Boundary of Canada.

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS seek homes in the British Provinces.

THE general policy of Great Britain toward her American colonies was one of commercial repression. The Navigation Laws (passed 1651 by the Commonwealth, confirmed by Charles II., 1660) prohibited the exportation from the crown colonies of certain products, except to Great Britain and in British ships; or the conveyance of any products of Asia, Africa or America to any port in Great Britain, except in British ships, or in ships of the country of which the goods were the product. American merchants were therefore precluded by law the direct importation of sugar, tea, spices, cotton, and similar foreign products. These were obliged first to be shipped to Great Britain, and then to be reshipped to America at greatly increased cost and delay. The colonial traders largely disregarded this prohibition, and grew rich by smuggling, which acquired in time a sort of toleration. With the growth of American commerce, imperial jealousy was aroused, and the colonial vessels were seized and the contraband goods confiscated by British ships or customs officers. The manufacture of certain articles, as wool and iron, was also, in defiance, it was felt, of natural rights, prohibited in the colonies. The oligarchical power of the crown officials, and the offensive assumptions of the church established by law, also gave deep offence to the Democratic communities of the American colonies.

In order to meet the colonial military expenditure, a stamp duty was imposed on all legal documents. The colonists denied the right of the Imperial parliament to impose taxes without their consent. The Stamp Act was repealed in a year, but the obnoxious principle of taxation without representation was maintained by a light duty on tea, and some other articles.* The colonists refused to receive the taxed commodities, and a party of men disguised as Indians threw into Boston harbour (December sixteenth, 1773) the tea on board the East India vessels, amounting to three hundred and forty chests. Parliament, incensed at this "flat rebellion," closed the port of Boston, and, against the protest and warning of some of England's greatest statesmen, sent troops to enforce submission.

A Continental Congress was assembled at Philadelphia (September, 1774) which, though seeking to avert Independence, petitioned the King, but in vain, for the continuance of the colonial liberties. At Concord and Lexington (April nineteenth, 1775), occurred the collision between the armed colonists and the soldiers of the King, which precipitated the War of Independence, and the loss to Great Britain of her American colonies. From the mountains of Vermont to the everglades of Georgia, a patriotic enthusiasm burst forth. A continental army was organized. General Gage was besieged in Boston. Canada and Nova Scotia were invited to join the revolt. Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen, with a handful of men, seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point. At Bunker Hill (June seventeenth, 1775), the colonial volunteers proved their ability to cope with the veteran troops of England. Five hundred of the former and a thousand of the latter lay dead or wounded on the fatal slope.

In the month of September, a colonial force of a thousand men, under General Schuyler, advanced by way of Lake Champlain against Montreal; and another, under Colonel Arnold, by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière, against Quebec. Governor Carleton endeavoured, at first with only very partial success, to enlist the coöperation

* The duty on tea was threepence per pound—one-fourth of that paid in England.

of the French for the defence of the country. They were not, indeed, seduced from their allegiance by the blandishments of the revolted colonies; but they, for the most part, continued apathetic, till their homes were in danger. While Schuyler was held in check at Fort St. John on the Richelieu, Colonel Ethan Allen, with some three hundred men, attacked Montreal. He was defeated and taken prisoner, and sent in irons to England. Colonel Richard Montgomery, a brave and generous Irish gentleman, had succeeded to Schuyler's command. He vigorously urged the siege of Forts St. John and Chambly, and having compelled their surrender, pressed on to Montreal, which he occupied. Carleton resolved to concentrate his forces at Quebec, which was now menaced by Colonel Arnold.

That officer, with a thousand men, had toiled up the swift current of the Kennebec, and transported his boats and stores through the tangled and rugged wilderness to the St. Lawrence. The sufferings of his troops through hunger, cold, fatigue and exposure were excessive. They were reduced to eat the flesh of dogs, and even to gnaw the leather of their cartouch boxes and shoes. Although enfeebled by sickness and exhaustion, they crossed the river, climbed the cliff by Wolfe's path, and appeared before the walls. Failing to surprise the town, and despairing—with his footsore and ragged regiments, with no artillery, and with only five rounds of ammunition—of taking it by assault, Arnold retired to Pointe aux Trembles, to await a junction with Montgomery.

On the fourth of December, the united forces, amounting to two thousand men, advanced on Quebec. Carleton had assembled an equal number, among whom were five hundred French Canadians, prepared to fight side by side with their former conquerors in defence of the British flag. For nearly a month the invaders encamped in the snow before the impregnable ramparts. Biting frost, the fire of the garrison, pleurisy and the small-pox did their fatal work. On the last day of the year a double assault was made on the Lower Town. At four o'clock in the morning, in a blinding snow-storm, Montgomery, with three hundred men, crept along the narrow pass between Cape Diamond and the river. The western gate was

defended by a block house and a battery. As the forlorn hope made a dash for the gate, a volley of grape swept through their ranks. Montgomery, with two of his officers and ten men, were slain. The deepening snow wrapped them in its icy shroud, while their comrades in utter discomfiture retreated.

On the other side of the town, Arnold, with six hundred men, attacked and carried the first barriers. They pressed on, and many entered the town through the embrasures of a battery, and waged a stubborn street fight, amid the storm and darkness. With the dawn of morning they found themselves surrounded by an overwhelming force, and exposed to a withering fire from the houses. They therefore surrendered at discretion to the number of four hundred men.

1776 Arnold continued to maintain an ineffective siege, his command daily wasting away with small-pox, cold and hunger. In the spring, Carleton assailed his lines with a thousand men, raised the siege, and captured a number of prisoners and a large quantity of stores. In May and June, being reënforced by General Burgoyne with ten thousand men, he pursued the retreating foe. The Americans abandoned successively Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal, and retired to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Carleton and Arnold each collected a flotilla of about twenty vessels on Lake Champlain. In a severe engagement near Crown Point (October nineteenth), Arnold was badly beaten, and to avoid surrender, beached those of his vessels that remained uncaptured, and set them on fire. The British now controlled the lake, and the Americans concentrated their strength at Ticonderoga.

Meanwhile the revolted colonies had thrown off their allegiance to the mother country by the celebrated Declaration of Independence, which was solemnly adopted by the Continental Congress, July 4, 1776. The British had already been obliged to evacuate Boston. They were also repulsed in an attack upon Charleston. In July, Lord Howe gained an important victory at Long Island, and took possession of New York, driving Washington across the Delaware. The latter, however, gained a brilliant victory at Trenton and another at Princeton, which

left the result of the campaign in favour of the revolted colonists.

Notwithstanding the protests of Lord Chatham and Lord North against the war, the King and his ministers persisted in their policy of coercion. The following spring, 1777 General Burgoyne, who had been appointed to the supreme military command, set out from Canada with nine thousand men to invade New York state, effect a junction with General Gage at Albany, and sever the American confederacy by holding the Hudson River. He captured Ticonderoga, and advanced to Fort Edward. The New England and New York militia swarmed around the invading army, cut off its supplies, and, familiar with the ground, attacked its detached forces with fatal success. Burgoyne was defeated at Stillwater, on the Hudson, and soon afterwards, being completely surrounded, surrendered, with six thousand men, to General Gates at Saratoga. This surrender led to the recognition of American independence by the French, and to their vigorous assistance of the revolt by money, arms, ships, and volunteers. The occupation of Philadelphia by the British, and the defeat of the Americans at Brandywine and Germantown were, however, disheartening blows to the young republic.

Governor Carleton, indignant at the military promotion of General Burgoyne over his own head, resigned his commission, and was succeeded in office by General Haldimand. A Swiss by birth and a strict martinet in discipline, the stern military government of the latter was a cause of much dissatisfaction. The Revolutionary War continued with varying fortune to drag its weary length. The genius and moral dignity of Washington sustained the courage of his countrymen under repeated disaster and defeat, and commanded the admiration and respect even of his enemies. The last great act of this stormy drama was the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, with seven thousand troops, at Yorktown, Virginia, October nineteenth, 1781. Lord Chatham, Lord North, and many of the leading minds of Great Britain were averse to the prosecution of the war, and now public opinion compelled the King and ministry to recognize the independence of the revolted colonies. The treaty of peace was signed at

Versailles, September third, 1783. By its terms Canada was despoiled of the magnificent region lying between the Mississippi and the Ohio, and was divided from the new nation designated the United States by the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence, the watershed between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, and the St. Croix River. The latter-mentioned portion of this boundary was sufficiently vague to give rise to serious international disputes at a subsequent period.

A considerable number of the American colonists had remained faithful to the mother country. Their condition during and after the war was exceedingly painful. They were exposed to suspicion and insult, and sometimes to wanton outrage and spoliation. Their zeal for the unity of the empire won for them the name of United Empire Loyalists, or, more briefly, U. E. Loyalists. The British Government made liberal provision for their domiciliation in Nova Scotia and Canada. The close of the war was followed by an exodus of these faithful men and their families, who, from their loyalty to their king and the institutions of their fatherland, abandoned their homes and property, often large estates, to encounter the discomforts of new settlements, or the perils of the pathless wilderness.* These exiles for conscience sake came chiefly from New England and New York state, but a considerable number came from the Middle and Southern states of the Union. Many settled near Halifax and on the Bay of Fundy. A large number established themselves on the St. John River, and founded the town of St. John—long called Parrtown from the name of the Governor of Nova Scotia. These sought a division of the province, and a separate legislature. This was 1784 granted, and the province of New Brunswick was created. Cape Breton was also made a separate government.

What is now the province of Ontario was then almost a wilderness. At the close of the war it became the home of about ten thousand U. E. Loyalists. Each adult received a free grant of two hundred acres of land, as

* The British Parliament voted £3,300,000 for the indemnification and assistance of the patriotic loyalists, of whom it is estimated that twenty-five thousand sought refuge in the British colonies.

did also each child, even those born after immigration, on their coming of age. The government also assisted with food, clothing, and implements those loyal exiles who had lost all on their expatriation. They settled chiefly along the Upper St. Lawrence, around the beautiful Bay of Quintè, and on the northern shores of Lake Ontario. Other settlements were made on the Niagara and Detroit Rivers. Liberal land grants were also given to immigrants from Great Britain. Many disbanded soldiers, militia and half-pay officers took up land, and in course of time not a few immigrants from the United States. The wilderness soon began to give place to smiling farms, thriving settlements, and waving fields of grain; and zealous missionaries threaded the forest in order to minister to the scattered settlers the rites of religion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FOUNDING OF UPPER CANADA.

1787. Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) Governor-General of British North America.
1791. The CONSTITUTIONAL ACT divides Canada and reconstructs its Constitution.
Early Legislation in Upper Canada.
1795. Choice of a Capital—YORK (Toronto) FOUNDED.
1799. Major-General Hunter, Lieut.-Governor.
Internal Development—Growth of Political Parties.
1806. Francis Gore, Lieut.-Governor.
Judge Thorpe, a popular tribune.
Social Organization—Education—Religion, etc.

IN 1787, Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, became Governor-General of British North America, and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's forces therein. The Canadian colonists demanded the same constitutional privileges as were enjoyed by the maritime provinces. The Habeas Corpus and trial by jury in civil cases were secured to them by statute law. But they wished also an elective Legislative Assembly, instead of a crown-appointed Legislative Council, and a larger measure of constitutional liberty.

In 1791, Lord Grenville introduced into the House of Lords a bill, known as the Constitutional Act, for the adjustment of Canadian affairs. It divided Canada into two provinces by a line coinciding chiefly with the Ottawa River. In Western or Upper Canada, British law, both civil and criminal, and freehold land tenure were introduced. In Eastern or Lower Canada, the seigniorial tenure and French law in civil cases were retained. In each province a government was constituted, consisting of an elective Legislative Assembly, and a Legislative Council and Governor appointed by the crown. One-seventh of the land was also reserved for the use of the crown, and one-seventh for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy—a provision which gave rise to much subsequent trouble and agitation.

The Canada Bill was warmly discussed in the English House of Commons. Mr. Charles Fox opposed the prin-

ciple of crown-appointed Councils as denying due political influence to the people, and urged the constitution of elective Councils. Burke, on the contrary, whom the excesses of the French Revolution had greatly alarmed, inveighed against the principle of popular liberty. Mr. Lymburner, a Quebec merchant, who represented the feelings of the British population, was heard at the bar of the House against the bill, chiefly on commercial grounds. As Quebec and Montreal, the chief ports of entry, held the key of commerce, it was feared that unjustly discriminative duties would be imposed upon the trade of Upper Canada.

The bill, however, passed without much modification. Its operations soon justified the apprehensions of Fox. The Legislative Councils, composed, as they were, largely of salaried officials, judges, and dependants on the crown, and utterly irresponsible to the people, became objects of popular jealousy.

John Graves Simcoe was appointed first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and entrusted with the inauguration of the new constitution. He was a landed gentleman, a member of the English House of Commons, and held the rank of Brigadier in the army. He had assisted in passing the Constitutional Act, and was anxious to see it successfully carried out. His administration was honest, prudent, energetic, and public-spirited. He established his seat of government at Newark, a village of about a hundred houses, at the mouth of the Niagara River. The first parliament of Upper Canada assembled on the seventeenth of September, 1792. The Assembly consisted of sixteen, and the Legislative Council of seven members—plain, homespun-clad farmers or merchants, from the plough or store. The session lasted five weeks, in which time eight bills of great practical utility were passed. They provided for the introduction of the English civil law and trial by jury, for the easy recovery of small debts, and for the erection of jails and court houses in each of the four districts into which the country was divided—the Eastern or Johnstown District, the Middle or Kingston District, the Home or Niagara District, and the Western or Detroit District. The *Newark Gazette*, the first Upper Canadian journal,

recorded the Acts passed, the proclamations of the Governor, and a meagre amount of news from the outer world.

Deeming Newark too near the American frontier for the capital of the province, Governor Simcoe looked for a more eligible site. He wished to found a new London in the heart of the Western District, on the banks of the winding Thames. Lord Dorchester favoured the claims of Kingston, which he made the principal naval and military station of the province. As a compromise, York was selected, chiefly on account of its excellent harbour, although the land was low and swampy. The growth and prosperity of the noble city of Toronto vindicate the wisdom of the choice.

Parliament continued to sit at Newark till 1797. The principal Acts provided for civil and municipal administration, for the construction of roads, fixing of duties, millers' tolls, and the like. Rewards of twenty and ten shillings, respectively, were offered for wolves' and bears' heads, which is suggestive of the forest perils of the times. The payment of members of parliament was fixed at ten shillings per day. The introduction of slaves was forbidden, and their term of servitude limited, ten years before similar legislation in Lower Canada.

Governor Simcoe removed to York in 1795, before a house was built, lodging temporarily in a canvas tent or pavilion,* pitched on the plateau overlooking the western end of the bay. In 1797, the provincial legislature was opened in a wooden building near the River Don, whose site is commemorated by the name of Parliament Street; but the founder of Toronto had previously been transferred to the government of San Domingo. He had projected a vigorous policy for the encouragement of agriculture, fisheries, and internal development. He employed the Queen's Rangers to construct a main road, Yonge Street, toward the lake that bears his name, and proposed to open direct communication between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, and also with the Ottawa. On his removal, most of these wise schemes fell through. Land designed for settlement was seized by speculators, and

* Originally constructed for Captain Cook.

the general development of the country was greatly retarded.

Mr. Russell, the senior member of the Executive Council, administered the government till the arrival of 1799 Major-General Hunter, who held office for the ensuing six years. The progress of the country in trade, population, and the development of its resources, was rapid. The tide of immigration steadily increased. The Irish troubles of "'98" especially led many hardy settlers to seek new homes in the virgin wilds of Canada. The obstructions of the St. Lawrence made communication with Montreal and Quebec more difficult than with Albany and New York. A brisk lake trade therefore sprang up, and additional ports of entry were established, which fostered the prosperity of the growing settlements of Cornwall, Brockville, Kingston, York, Niagara, Amherstburg, and other frontier villages. The legislature also encouraged by a money grant the growth of hemp, with a view to make England independent of Russia for cordage.*

As the province increased in wealth and population, the evils of a practically irresponsible government began to be felt. The Executive Council, composed of the Governor and five of his nominees, removable at his pleasure, gradually absorbed the whole administrative influence of the colony. The official *Gazette*, the only representative of the public press, was in the hands of the Government, as was also the whole of the revenue of the province. The Legislative Assembly, therefore, could exercise no check by annual votes of supply. Many poor gentlemen, half-pay officers, and others of similar character from the mother country, sought to better their fortunes in the new colony. By birth and training they were unfitted to cope with the hardships of backwoods life. They soon engrossed, almost entirely, the departmental offices, for which, by education and previous position, they were especially adapted, or became hangers on and zealous supporters of the Government, while they looked

* In 1803, Colonel Talbot, an eccentric British officer, received a grant of five thousand acres of land on Lake Erie, on condition of placing a settler on every two hundred acres. For many years he kept a sort of feudal state in his forest community.

down with a sort of aristocratic exclusiveness on the uncultivated, and perhaps sometimes uncouth, hard-working yeomanry of the country.

Others, with a wiser policy, adapted themselves to their altered circumstances and to the condition of the province. While learning to swing the axe and hold the plough, they preserved, amid the rudest surroundings, the tastes and instincts of gentlemen. They became, from their education and cultivated manners, centres of influence and leaders of opinion in the rural communities in which they lived, which tacitly conceded a superiority which they would never have yielded had it been directly asserted.

The sturdy yeomanry not unnaturally regarded with jealousy and aversion the former of these classes, and allied themselves with the latter as their legitimate leaders and friends. Thus early in the century the origin of parties may be traced in Upper Canada—on the one hand, the zealous supporters of an irresponsible executive; on the other, the advocates of a larger measure of constitutional liberty. The easy-going Governor naturally favoured his friends. Complaints of corruption in the disbursement of supplies for the Indians and Loyalist immigrants, and in the granting of land patents to non-occupants, soon began to be heard.

Mr. Hunter was succeeded as Governor by Francis 1806 Gore, Esq. His personal character was estimable and his purposes honest; but arbitrary power is a dangerous prerogative for any man to possess. In his ignorance of the country he depended on his Council for information and advice. These gentlemen, not unnaturally, desired to maintain the privileges of their order and of their friends. The complaints of the people found expression in memorials from the grand juries to Mr. Thorpe, an upright and honoured judge of the King's Bench, to be by him laid before the Governor. Judge Thorpe came to be regarded as the champion of the people, and notwithstanding the utmost opposition of the Government, was elected to the legislature, although he did not solicit a single vote. The official *Gazette* violently assailed his character. An opposition journal, the *Upper Canada Guardian*, was established, and a party warfare

was vigorously prosecuted. The Government succeeded in procuring the recall of Judge Thorpe to Great Britain, where he sued Mr. Gore for libel, and obtained a verdict. Mr. Willcocks, the editor of the *Guardian*, and for a time leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, lost his office of sheriff on account of his political independence, and was subsequently imprisoned in the log jail of York for breach of privilege in his trenchant criticism on public affairs.* In 1811, Mr. Gore returned to England, leaving the temporary administration of government in the hands of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in the province.

Meanwhile the country had steadily prospered, undisturbed in its forest isolation by the great European war, which was deluging with blood a hundred battlefields and desolating thousands of homes. By the year 1809 the population had increased to about seventy thousand. Taxes were exceedingly light. The customs revenue, principally derived from the imports of groceries, for the clothing was chiefly homespun, amounted to £7,000.

The chief commercial want was a paper currency and banking facilities. The lack of money led to a system of barter between merchant and consumer, which often inextricably involved the latter in debt. Popular education was at a low ebb, although a grammar school had been established in each of the eight districts into which the province was now divided. From the almost untaxed importation of liquors—the duty on spirits was only sixpence per gallon, that on wines ninepence—intemperance, with its attendant evils, was the prevailing vice. The people lived in rude abundance, the virgin soil brought forth plentifully, deer roamed in the forest, wild fowl swarmed in marsh and mere, and the lakes and rivers teemed with the finest fish. Homespun and often home-woven frieze or flannel furnished warm and serviceable clothing.

The houses, chiefly of logs, rough or squared with the

* In the war of 1812-15, Willcocks at first fought loyally for his country, but afterwards deserted to the Americans, and was killed at the siege of Fort Erie.

axe, though rude, were not devoid of homely comfort. The furniture, except in towns and villages, was mostly home-made. Open fireplaces and out-of-door ovens were the popular substitute for stoves. Oxen were largely employed in tilling the soil, and dragging the rude wag-gons over rough roads. The fields were studded with blackened stumps, and the girdling forest ever bounded the horizon or swept around the scanty clearing. The grain was reaped with the sickle or scythe, threshed with the flail, and winnowed by the wind. Grist mills being almost unknown, it was generally ground in the steel hand-mills furnished by the Government, or pounded in a large mortar, hollowed out of a hardwood stump, by means of a wooden pestle attached to a spring beam.

The roads were often only blazed paths through the forest, supported on transverse corduroy logs where they passed through a swamp or marsh. The "Governor's Road," as it was called, traversed the length of the province, along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, and westward to Amherstburg. Yonge Street extended from York to the Holland River. Much of the early legislation had reference to the construction of roads and bridges, chiefly by statute labour. By the liberal and paternal policy of the Government toward the Indian tribes, the colonists, unlike the early French and American settlers, were relieved of all apprehensions of danger from the red man. The judges and crown lawyers made their circuits, when possible, in Government schooners,* and the assize furnished an opportunity of reviving for a time in the county towns the half-forgotten gaities of fashionable society. In the aristocratic circles of York a mimic representation of Old World court life was observed, with only partial success.

Before the war there were only four clergymen of the Church of England in Upper Canada. The oldest church in the province was at the Indian settlement near Brantford. Its history can be traced back to 1784. It is still occupied for public worship. It possesses a handsome communion service of beaten silver, presented by Queen

* In 1801, the "Speedy," a ten-gun vessel, having as passengers Judge Gray and several members of the Court of King's Bench, was lost with all on board on her way from York to Kingston.

Anne to the Indian chapel on the Mohawk river.* At the close of the Revolutionary War the loyal Mohawk tribes migrated to the Indian reserve on the Grand River. A few Methodist and Presbyterian ministers toiled through the wilderness to visit the scattered flocks committed to their care. Amid these not altogether propitious circumstances were nourished that patriotic and sturdy yeomanry that did doughty battle for Britain in the approaching war, and many of those noble characters that illustrated the future annals of their country; and then were laid the foundations of that goodly civilization amid which we live to-day.

* Beneath the walls of this humble sanctuary repose the ashes of the Mohawk chief, Thayendinaga—Joseph Brant—who gallantly fought for the British through two bloody wars.

CHAPTER XIX.

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF 1812-15.

1792. Inauguration of the New Constitution in Lower Canada.
1797. McLean's attempt on Quebec—His Execution.
Sir James Craig's Stormy Administration, 1808-11.
CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS—Suppression of *Le Canadien*.
Sir George Prevost, Governor-General.
Political Organization in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.
1806. CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812-15—The "Berlin Decree" and "Orders in Council."
1807. The "Right of Search"—Sea-fight between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*.
1811. Henry's "Secret Correspondence" published.
1812. WAR DECLARED, June 18, 1812—Republican Anti-War Protest.
Position of Combatants—CANADIAN LOYALTY.
Capture of Fort Mackinaw, July 17, 1812.
Hull's Invasion and Repulse—HE SURRENDERS TO BROCK, AUG. 15, 1812.
BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS—DEATH OF BROCK, OCT. 13, 1812.
Obsequies of Brock and McDonnell—Their Monument.
Smythe's gasconade—His fiasco at Navy Island, Nov. 18, 1812.
DEARBORN'S INVASION—Repulsed at Lacolle, Nov. 20, 1812.
Naval Engagements—The *Constitution* and *Guerrière*, etc.

IN the more populous province of Lower Canada, the inauguration of the new colonial Constitution gave rise to struggles between the irresponsible Executive and the elective Assembly, which felt itself the safeguard of popular liberty. The new legislature met in 1792, in the even then venerable city of Quebec. It was composed of a nominated Council of fifteen, and a Lower House of fifty members, elected for four years. Fifteen of the latter were of British and the remainder of French origin. The debates, therefore, were conducted, as they have been ever since in all legislatures in which Lower Canada was represented, in both English and French, and the official documents were published in both languages. A jealousy of race was fomented by the invectives of the rival newspapers of the French and English press.

In 1797, Lord Dorchester, after twenty years of paternal oversight of Canada, was succeeded as Governor-General by Major-General Prescott. A bankrupt American, named McLean, this year attempted to capture Quebec

by tampering with certain of its inhabitants. His designs were detected, and he was hanged for high treason, and then beheaded with a display of barbarism characteristic of the political executions of a bygone age. The commerce of the country continued rapidly to develop; the revenue increasing from £5,000 in 1793 to £34,000 in 1805.

In 1808, Sir James Craig, a veteran military officer, was appointed Governor-General, in anticipation of war with the United States. The Legislative Assembly took strong ground against the election of judges as members of parliament, and asserted its right of control of the financial expenditure. The Council vetoed its acts, and the Governor dissolved the House, 1809. The new parliament proved still more refractory, and was in turn peremptorily dissolved, 1810. The country was thrown into a ferment. The British population generally sided with the Governor and Council, the French with the refractory Assembly. During the election which followed, six members of the late Opposition were thrown into prison for alleged treasonable practices, as was also the printer of the *Canadien* newspaper, the Opposition organ, the press and type of which were seized by the Government. The threatened dead-lock was averted by a little mutual concession. The imprisoned members were released, and the Judges' Disqualification Bill passed the legislature and received the Governor's assent. Sir James Craig, greatly broken in health, now returned to England, and was succeeded in office by Sir George Prevost, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1811.*

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick both experienced the irrepressible conflict between the Council and the Assembly—between the prerogatives of the crown and the growth of popular liberty. During the French and Revolutionary Wars, Halifax had been a great naval and military rendezvous, and society assumed a highly aristocratic and conservative tone. The Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, during the latter years of the century (1794–1799) Commander-in-Chief of the royal forces, dis-

* In 1809 the Hon. John Molson, of Montreal, launched the first steamboat on the St. Lawrence. It made the trip to Quebec in thirty-six hours. Four years previously, Fulton navigated, on the Hudson River, the first steamboat known.

pensed a splendid hospitality, and fostered the loyal enthusiasm of the people. Much English money was spent in the colony, and its commercial progress was rapid. Governor Parr and his successor, Sir John Wentworth, jealously guarded what they considered the prerogatives of the crown against what they regarded as the democratic encroachments of the people.*

In New Brunswick, such was the dead-lock between the Council and the Assembly, that for three years (1796-1799) the latter refused to pass the revenue and appropriation bills. For twenty years (1782-1802), Colonel Carleton, brother of Lord Dorchester, administered the affairs of the province with great tact and ability, but not without occasional collisions with the Assembly, which seemed to be the inevitable fate of colonial Governors in those days. The lumber trade of New Brunswick was greatly fostered by the demands of the royal fleets and by a heavy duty imposed on Baltic timber. The stately masts of her forests bore the pennon of Great Britain in many a stern sea fight.

We proceed now to trace the causes which led to the Anglo-American war of 1812-15.

For sometime previous to the open rupture of 1812, public feeling in the United States had become increasingly hostile to Great Britain. The "Berlin Decree" of Napoleon, issued November first, 1806, declared a blockade of the entire British coast, and let loose French privateers against her shipping, and that of neutral nations trading with her. Great Britain retaliated by the celebrated 1807 "Orders in Council," which declared all traffic with France contraband, and the vessels prosecuting it, with their cargoes, liable to seizure. These restrictions pressed heavily on neutrals, especially on the United States, which now engrossed much of the carrying trade of the world. The Democratic majority in the Union, therefore, bitterly resented the British "Orders," although complacently overlooking the "Berlin Decree" by which they were provoked, and which was equally hostile to American commerce. President Jefferson now laid an embargo

*In 1796, six hundred Maroons, insurgent negroes from Jamaica, were transported to Nova Scotia and allocated on lands. The experiment, however, proved unsuccessful, and they were subsequently removed to the more congenial climate of Sierra Leone.

on all shipping, domestic or foreign, in the harbours of the United States, for which Congress, the following year, substituted a Non-Intercourse Act, prohibiting all commerce with either belligerent till the obnoxious "Decree" or "Orders" were repealed. Severe injury was thus inflicted on both Great Britain and America, which tended to their mutual exasperation.

Another cause conspired to fan the war feeling to a flame. Great Britain, pressed by the difficulty of manning her immense fleets, asserted the "right of search" of American vessels for deserters from her navy. The United States frigate *Chesapeake* resisted this right, sanctioned by international law, but was compelled by a broadside from H. M. Ship *Leopard* (June, 1807) to submit, and to deliver up four deserters found among her crew. The British Government disavowed the violence of this act and offered reparation. But the Democratic party was clamorous for war, and eager to seduce from their allegiance and annex to the United States the provinces of British North America. The world was to witness the strange spectacle of the young Republic of the West leagued with the arch-despot Napoleon, against almost the sole champion of constitutional liberty in Europe.*

Public resentment in the United States was still further exasperated by the publication of the secret correspondence of a Captain Henry, a renegade adventurer, sent by Sir James Craig, Governor-General of Canada, in 1809, to ascertain the state of feeling in New England toward Great Britain. He reported a disposition to secede from the Union, and subsequently offered his correspondence to the American Government, demanding therefor the exorbitant sum of \$50,000, which he received from the secret service fund. His information was unauthentic and unimportant, and the British Government repudiated his agency, but the war party in the Congress was implacable. War was precipitately declared June eighteenth, 1812, in the hope of intercepting the West India fleet, and of overrunning Canada before it could be

* In May, 1811, a collision occurred between the British and American war vessels—*Little Belt*, 18 guns, and *President*, 44 guns, resulting in the defeat of the former with the loss of eleven men; but both nations disavowed hostile intent.

aided by Great Britain. Almost simultaneously the obnoxious "Orders in Council," the chief ostensible cause of the war, were repealed, but the news produced no change in American policy.

The Republican party of the United States, however, which was predominant in its northern section, and comprised the more moderate and intelligent part of the nation, was strenuously opposed to the action of Congress. A convention was held at Albany, protesting against the war and against an alliance with Napoleon, "every action of whose life demonstrated a thirst for universal empire and for the extinction of human freedom." At Boston, on the declaration of hostilities, the flags of the shipping were placed at half-mast as a sign of mourning, and a public meeting denounced the war as ruinous and unjust.

The position of the parties to this contest was very unequal. Great Britain was exhausted by a war by sea and land of nearly twenty years duration. Canada was unprepared for the conflict. She had only some six thousand troops to defend a thousand miles of frontier. Her entire population was under three hundred thousand, while that of the United States was eight millions, or in the proportion of twenty-seven to one. The Americans relied on the reported disaffection of the provinces with British rule. In this they were egregiously mistaken. Forgetting their political differences, the Canadians rallied with a spontaneous outburst of loyalty to the support of the Government. Even the American immigrants, with scarce an exception, proved faithful to their adopted country. The legislature of Lower Canada voted the issue of army bills to the amount of £250,000, and, together with the Upper Canadian parliament, took vigorous measures for the organization and drill of the militia, and placed them at the disposal of the military authorities. The employment of Indians on both sides seems to have been an unfortunate necessity. They could not be induced to remain neutral when war was waging, and their savage instincts often led to acts of cruelty of which the principals in the conflict bore the blame.

On the declaration of war, Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, a gallant officer and skilful civil ruler, who, in

the absence of Mr. Gore, administered the government of Upper Canada, resolved to strike the first blow. He ordered an attack on Fort Mackinaw, which commanded the entrance to Lake Michigan. It was surprised and taken without the loss of a man (July seventeenth). Thus was an important post secured, and the north-west Indians were confirmed in their allegiance to the British.

The American plan of attack was to invade Canada with three armies, on the Detroit and Niagara frontiers and by way of Lake Champlain. General Hull crossed the Detroit River at Sandwich with twenty-five hundred men. In a pompous proclamation, he summoned the Canadians to surrender, offering them the alternatives of "peace, liberty, and security," or "war, slavery, and destruction." They spurned his offers and defied his threats. Having ravaged the surrounding country, he received a severe check from a handful of troops who garrisoned the dilapidated Fort Malden, at Amherstburg. General Brock hastened from York, by way of Niagara and Lake Erie, with all the forces he could collect. Hull recrossed the river with his whole command, except a few men left at Sandwich, and took refuge behind the earthworks of Detroit. Brock followed him with seven hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians. Without awaiting an attack, Hull surrendered with all his forces and vast military stores, and ceded to the British the entire territory of Michigan (August fifteenth). The American militia were released on parole, and the regular troops and officers, a thousand in number, were sent to Quebec. Hull was afterwards tried by a United States court-martial for treason and cowardice, and sentenced to death, but was reprieved on account of his services during the Revolutionary War.

On the Niagara frontier, the American General, Van Ranselaer collected an army of six thousand for the invasion of Canada. To protect the boundary of thirty-four miles, Brock had only fifteen hundred men. A bold escarpment of rock, an old lake margin, runs across the country from west to east. Through this the Niagara River, in the course of ages, has worn a deep and gloomy gorge. At the foot of the cliff nestled on the west side

the hamlet of Queenston, and on the east the American village of Lewiston. Here, early on the cold and stormy morning of October the thirteenth, Van Ranselaer crossed with twelve hundred men. They were held in check for a time by the fire of two small cannon and about three hundred men. The British force held the table-land at the top of the escarpment; but a part of the invading army having climbed the precipitous river bank by a path thought to be impassable, they were outflanked and driven down the hill.

General Brock, hearing the cannonade at Niagara, seven miles distant, galloped off in the gray of the morning, with his aides-de-camp, Major Glegg and Colonel Macdonell, to ascertain if it were a feint or an attack in force. Having dismounted, he rallied the British troops, and at the head of a company of the forty-ninth regiment and of militia, he charged up the hill under a heavy fire. His conspicuous figure attracted the aim of the enemy, and, while cheering on the York volunteers, he fell, shot through the breast. "Push on! Don't mind me!" he exclaimed; and with his ebbing life sending a love message to his sister in the far-off isle of Guernsey, the brave soul passed away. His aide-de-camp, Colonel Macdonell, the Attorney-General of Upper Canada, a promising young man of twenty-five, was mortally wounded soon after his chief, and died next day.

Major-General Sheaffe, an officer of American birth, now succeeded Brock in command. He mustered, with reënforcements from Niagara and Queenston, about nine hundred men, including a hundred Indians. By a flank movement by way of St. David's, he gained the height, and, after a sharp action, completely routed the enemy. Pursued by yelling Indians, they fled: some, clambering down the rugged slope, were impaled on the jagged pines; others, attempting to swim the rapid river, were drowned. Nine hundred and fifty men surrendered to Sheaffe—a force greater than his own. Among the prisoners was Colonel Scott, afterwards General Scott, the hero of Mexico and Commander-in-Chief of the United States armies.

The victory of Queenston Heights, glorious as it was, was dearly bought with the death, at the early age of

forty-three, of Canada's darling hero, the loved and honoured Brock, and of the brave young Macdonell. Amid the tears of war-bronzed soldiers, and even of stoical Indians, they were laid in one common grave at Niagara ; while the half-mast flags and minute guns of the British and American forts testified the honour and esteem in which they were held by friends and foes alike. A grateful country has erected on the scene of the victory—one of the grandest sites on earth—a noble monument to Brock's memory ; and beneath it, side by side, sleeps the dust of the heroic chief and his faithful aide-de-camp—united in their death, and not severed in their burial.

A month's armistice was granted, during which the Americans strengthened their position, and collected on the Niagara frontier an "army of the centre," five thousand strong, to oppose which General Sheaffe had only seven hundred men. On the eighteenth of November, General Smythe, who had succeeded Van Ranselaer in command, with a force of four hundred and thirty men, captured Grand Island, above the Falls, which was guarded by sixty-five British ; but it was soon recaptured. A larger force attempted in eighteen barges to cross the river ; but it was repulsed by the vigorous fire of the united garrisons of Fort Erie and Fort Chippewa. Smythe, a gasconading braggart, thus kept in check by a force one-sixth of his own, was regarded even by his own troops with contempt, and had to fly from the camp to escape their indignation.

In the meanwhile, General Dearborn, with an army of ten thousand men, advanced by way of Lake Champlain to the frontier. The Canadians rallied *en masse* to repel the invasion, barricaded the roads with felled trees, and guarded every pass. On the twentieth of November, an attack was made by fourteen hundred of the enemy on the British outpost at Lacolle, near Rouse's Point ; but the guard, keeping up a sharp fire, withdrew, and the Americans, in the darkness and confusion, fired into each other's ranks, and fell back in disastrous and headlong retreat. The discomfited General, despairing of a successful attack on Montreal, so great was the vigilance and valour of the Canadians, retired with his "Grand Army of the North" into safe winter quarters behind

the entrenchments of Plattsburg. A few ineffectual border raids and skirmishes, at different points of the extended frontier, were characteristic episodes of the war during the winter, and, indeed, throughout the entire duration of hostilities.

In their naval engagements the Americans were more successful. On Lake Ontario, Commodore Chauncey equipped a strong fleet, which drove the Canadian shipping for protection under the guns of Niagara, York, and Kingston. He generously restored the private plate of Sir Isaac Brock, captured in one of his prizes. At sea, the American frigates *Constitution* and *United States* shattered and captured the British ships *Guerrière*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*. In these sea fights the greatest gallantry was exhibited in the dreadful work of mutual slaughter. The vessels reeked with blood like a shambles, and, if not blown up or sunk, became floating hospitals of deadly wounds and agonizing pain.

In the United States Congress this unnatural strife of kindred races was vigorously denounced by some of the truest American patriots. Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, characterized it as the "most disgraceful in history since the invasion of the buccaneers." But the Democratic majority persisted in their stern policy of implacable war.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

Liberal Parliamentary Grants—Construction of navy on the lakes.

American Fort at Ogdensburg taken, February 20th.

Proctor captures Winchester and five hundred Americans at FRENCH TOWN, Mich., January 22nd.

Mutual Retaliation—Plan of Campaign.

YORK TAKEN by General Pike—Explosion of Magazine, April 27th.

FORT GEORGE TAKEN—Vincent retreats to Burlington Heights, May 27th.

Americans routed in NIGHT ATTACK at STONY CREEK, June 6th.

Lt. Fitzgibbon captures five hundred Americans at BEAVER DAMS, June 28th.

Prevost and Yeo's attack on Sackett's Harbour, May 29th.

Second capture of York by Chauncey, July 23rd.

Chauncey is defeated by Yeo off Niagara, August 10th.

Proctor defeats Harrison at FORT MEIGS, May 5th.

Is Repulsed at Sandusky—Falls back on Amherstburg.

PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE, September 10th.

Proctor Retreats from Amherstburg—Is Beaten by Harrison at MORAVIAN TOWN, October 15th—Death of Tecumseh.

Wilkinson, with nine thousand men, advances on Montreal.

BATTLE of CHRYSLER'S FARM, November 12th.

Colonel Murray's successful raid on Plattsburg, July 31st.

Hampton's Invasion of Canada—REPULSED at CHATEAUGUAY, October 26th.

McClure evacuates and BURNS NIAGARA, December 10th.

Fort Niagara taken, and Lewiston, Black Rock, and BUFFALO BURNED, December 18th-30th.

Naval Duel of CHESAPEAKE and SHANNON, June 1st.

The ENTERPRISE and BOXER—The Superiority of the American Navy.

By both belligerents preparations were made for the campaign of 1813 with redoubled zeal. The legislature of Lower Canada authorized the issue of army bills to the amount of £500,000, and that of Upper Canada passed an Act prohibiting, in anticipation of a scarcity of food, the exportation of grain and restricting the distillation of spirits therefrom. The sale of liquor to Indians was also prohibited. During the winter, the "King's Regiment," of New Brunswick, marched on snow-shoes through the wilderness, and did good service during the campaign.

The Americans gave special attention to the construction of strong, if roughly finished, vessels on Lakes

Champlain, Ontario and Erie. The British Government, severely taxed by the war with Napoleon, could send few reënforcements to America, and an incompetent naval administration neglected the equipment of vessels for the lakes. Very tardily a few vessels were constructed at Kingston, York, and Chippewa, at the extravagant cost, it was said, of £1000 per ton. To a country abounding with the best of timber, English oak and all other equipments were transported across the ocean, even to the superfluity on our "unsalted seas" of casks for the stowage of fresh water. All military stores had to be conveyed with incredible labour, in open batteaux, up the rapids of the St. Lawrence under the fire of the gun batteries on the American shore. More than one brigade of boats was attacked, and captured or defended with great valour and loss of life on both sides.

Even during the rigours of the winter of 1812-13 the horrors of war did not cease. Marauding parties from Ogdensburg ravaged the Canadian frontier and provoked severe retaliation. On the twenty-first of February Major Macdonell, with four hundred and eighty men, crossed at daylight on the ice from Prescott to Ogdensburg, and in an hour the American fort, defended by a superior force, was captured with a large amount of stores.

In the West Colonel Proctor still held Detroit for the British. General Winchester, in the middle of January, attacked and occupied one of his outposts at Frenchtown, on the Raisin River, about twenty-six miles from Detroit toward the south. Proctor advanced rapidly with eleven hundred militia, regulars, and Indians, and at daybreak fell upon the American camp. After a severe action, in which many were slain amid the wintry snows, Winchester surrendered with five hundred men. But the victory was tarnished by the cruelty of the Indian allies of the British, who, unamenable to control, massacred several of the wounded. The American Congress bitterly inveighed against the atrocities of the savages. It also ordered the execution of a number of Canadian prisoners, should certain American militia, captured by the British and sent to England to be tried

as traitors, receive any harm. Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General, threatened to execute two American prisoners for every Canadian shot or hanged by the United States authorities. The latter menaced similar retaliation; and thus, under the exasperating and barbarizing influence of war, the hostile passions of the combatants were inflamed.

The American plan of the campaign of 1813 included the mastery of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, the capture of the forts on the Niagara frontier, at York and at Kingston, and the reduction of the entire western peninsula. A concentration of forces on Montreal and Quebec, it was thought, would then drive the Union-Jack from the valley of the St. Lawrence.

In pursuance of this design, Commodore Chauncey, with fourteen vessels and seventeen hundred men, under the command of Generals Dearborn and Pike, left Sackett's Harbour, and early on the morning of April twenty-seventh lay off the shore a little to the west of the town of York, which was garrisoned by only six hundred men, under General Sheaffe. Under cover of a heavy fire, which swept the beach, the Americans landed, drove in the British outposts, which stoutly contested every foot of ground, and made a dash for the dilapidated fort, which the fleet meanwhile heavily bombarded. Continual reinforcements enabled them to fight their way to within two hundred yards of the earthen ramparts, when the defensive fire ceased. General Pike halted his troops, thinking the fort about to surrender. Suddenly, with a shock like an earthquake, the magazine blew up, and hurled into the air two hundred of the attacking column, together with Pike its commander; killing also several soldiers of the retiring British garrison. This act, which has been defended as justifiable in order to prevent the powder falling into the hands of the enemy, and as in accordance with the recognized code of war, was severely denounced by the Americans, and imparted a tone of greater bitterness to the subsequent contest. The town being no longer tenable, General Sheaffe, after destroying the naval stores and a vessel on the stocks, retreated with the regulars towards Kingston. Colonel Chewett, with three hundred militiamen, were taken prisoners,

the public buildings burned, and the military and naval stores which escaped destruction were carried off. In this action the American loss was over three hundred, and that of the British nearly half as great. For abandoning the capital Sheaffe was superseded, as Commander-in-Chief in Upper Canada, by Major-General de Rottenburg.

On the second of May Dearborn reëmbarked his forces, and the fleet made for the mouth of the Niagara. It was, on account of adverse winds, six days before he could land his troops under the protection of the American fort. Here he remained inactive for three weeks, while Chauncey conveyed the wounded to Sackett's Harbour and brought up reënforcements. On the twenty-seventh of May, at early dawn, his ships, some fifteen in number, lay in crescent form off Fort St. George, which was garrisoned by Colonel Vincent with about fourteen hundred men. Under cover of a tremendous fire from the fleet and Fort Niagara, after a triple repulse by the British, a force of six thousand men effected a landing on the beach. Vincent, having nearly four hundred men killed, wounded, or captured, his ammunition being well nigh exhausted and his fort almost in ruins, spiked his guns, blew up his shattered works, and confronted by a force six times greater than his own, retired on Queenston Heights.

The next day, having withdrawn the garrisons from the frontier forts on the Niagara river, he retreated with sixteen hundred men toward the head of the lake, and took up a strong position on Burlington Heights, near Hamilton. Dearborn dispatched a force of over three thousand men, under Generals Chandler and Winder, to dislodge him. On the sixth of June they encamped at Stony Creek, seven miles from Vincent's lines. The position of the latter was critical. Niagara and York had both been captured. Before him was a victorious foe. His ammunition was reduced to ninety rounds. He was extricated from his peril by a bold blow. Colonel John Harvey, having reconnoitered the enemy's position, proposed a night attack. Vincent heartily coöperated. At midnight, with seven hundred British bayonets, they burst upon the American camp.

A fierce fight ensued, in which the enemy were utterly routed. The British, unwilling to expose their small number to a still superior force, retired before daybreak, with four guns and a hundred prisoners, including both of the American generals. The victory, however, was purchased with the loss of two hundred men killed or missing. The fugitives, after destroying their camp stores and leaving the dead unburied, retreated to Forty Mile Creek, where they effected a junction with General Lewis, advancing to their aid with two thousand men. At daybreak, on the eighth of June, the American camp was shelled by Commodore Yeo's fleet. The enemy retreated to Fort George, abandoning their tents and stores, which were captured by Vincent. The baggage shipped by batteaux to the fort were either taken by the fleet or abandoned on the shore.

The invaders soon met with another reverse. Colonel Boerstler, on the twenty-eighth of June, with four hundred and seventy men, including fifty cavalry and two field-pieces, advanced to dislodge a British picket at Beaver Dams (near Thorold). Mrs. Secord, a heroic Canadian wife, whose husband had been wounded at Queenston Heights and whose house had been pillaged by the Americans, walked twenty miles through the woods to give warning of the attack. Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, with a handful of soldiers and two hundred Indians, by a skilful disposition of his forces, captured Boerstler's entire command, more than twice his own number, to the intense chagrin of the Americans.

Dearborn, whose forces were wasted away to about four thousand men, was now beleagured in Fort George by Vincent with less than half the number of troops. During the month of July the British made successful raids on Fort Schlosser and Black Rock, on the American side of the river, destroying barracks and dockyards, and capturing stores and arms.

In accordance with the British policy of strengthening the naval force on the lake, Sir James Yeo, a distinguished officer, with four hundred and fifty seamen, had, early in the month of May, arrived at Kingston. Prompt preparations were made for active demonstrations against the enemy. The American fleet being engaged in the attack

on Fort George, at Niagara, it was resolved to make a descent on Sackett's Harbour. On May twenty-seventh, the day of the capture of Fort George, Sir James Yeo, with seven armed vessels and a thousand men, under the personal command of Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General, sailed from Kingston to destroy the shipping and stores of the principal American naval depot on the lakes. After the troops had been placed in barges for the attack, Prevost, having reconnoitered the works, deemed them too strong for the force at his command, and gave orders for an inglorious return to Kingston. A couple of scores of Indians, in their bark canoes, so terrified a party of seventy American troops that they surrendered to the British. Sir George, finding the foe less formidable than he feared, decided on an attack the following day. But his impromptitude proved fatal to his design. The delay gave time for the militia to rally, and the landing of the British was stoutly opposed. Nevertheless the assault was successful; the Americans everywhere gave way, and had already fired the barracks, naval stores, and shipping, when, to the intense chagrin of his victorious troops, the over-cautious Prevost ordered a retreat. He justified his action by his lack of artillery to batter the block houses, and mistook, it is said, the commotion of the enemy's flight for that of reënforcements. The fugitive Americans returned and rescued from the flames a large vessel on the stocks. The loss of naval stores, however, was great, including those just captured at York.

In retaliation for this attack, Commodore Chauncey, on the twenty-third of July, appeared with twelve sail off the defenceless town of York—all the regular troops being absent and the militia on parole. He landed without opposition, burned the barracks and such public buildings as had previously escaped, broke open the jail, and plundered both private and public stores. On the eighth of August he encountered, off Niagara, Yeo's fleet of six vessels—less than half his own number. In a running fight of two days' duration, he lost two vessels by foundering and two by capture, and escaped to port. Yeo returned to Kingston with his prizes without the loss of a single man.

Colonel Proctor, in the month of May, with two thousand men, chiefly Indians, under the brave chief Tecumseh, invested General Harrison at Fort Meigs, on the Miami River, near the western extremity of Lake Erie. The garrison, much stronger than the assailants, made a vigorous sally, but were driven back with the loss of a thousand men killed or captured. In an attack on the American fort at Sandusky, Proctor was less successful. He was repulsed with heavy loss; his fickle Indian allies returned to their homes, and he was compelled to fall back upon the feeble fortifications of Amherstburg.

Meanwhile two squadrons were preparing to contest the supremacy of Lake Erie. Perry, the American commodore, had nine vessels, well manned with experienced seamen from the now idle merchant marine of the United States. Barclay, the British captain, had only fifty sailors to six vessels, the rest of the crew being made up of two hundred and forty soldiers and eighty Canadians. On the tenth of September, the hostile fleets met in the shock of battle, off Put-in-Bay, at the western end of Lake Erie. Perry's flagship soon struck her colours, but Barclay, his own ship a wreck, could not even secure the prize. The British ships fouled, and the heavier metal of the enemy soon reduced them to unmanageable hulks. The carnage was dreadful. In three hours all their officers and half their crew were killed or wounded. Perry despatched to Washington the sententious message: "We have met the enemy. They are ours."

Proctor, short of provisions, cut off from supplies, exposed in flank and rear, and attacked in force in front, could only retreat. He dismantled the forts at Detroit and Amherstburg, destroyed the stores and public buildings, and fell back along the Thames with eight hundred and thirty white men and five hundred Indians, under Tecumseh. Harrison followed rapidly with three thousand five hundred men, and fell upon his rear guard at Moravian Town, October fifteenth. Proctor was forced to fight at a disadvantage, on ill-chosen ground. The mounted Kentucky riflemen rode through and through his ranks, dealing death on every side. The brave Tecumseh was slain while rallying his warriors. The

rout was complete. Proctor, with a shattered remnant of his troops, retreated through the forest to Burlington Heights, where, with two hundred and forty war-wasted men, he effected a junction with Vincent's command, which had been compelled for a time to raise the siege of Fort George, and take up its old position. Harrison, the American general, assumed the nominal government of the western part of Upper Canada.

The Americans were now free to concentrate their efforts on the reduction of Kingston and Montreal. On the twenty-fourth of October, an army of nine thousand men, with ample artillery, under General Wilkinson, rendezvoused at Grenadier Island, near Sackett's Harbour; but the stone forts of Kingston, garrisoned by two thousand men under De Rottenburg, protected that important naval station from attack even by a fourfold force. Wilkinson, therefore, embarking his army in three hundred batteaux, protected by twelve gun boats, in the bleak November weather threaded the watery mazes of the Thousand Islands in his menacing advance on Montreal. A British "corps of observation," eight hundred strong, under Colonel Morrison, followed the enemy along the river bank. A number of gun-boats also hung on the rear of the American flotilla, and kept up a teasing fire, to their great annoyance and injury. Passing Prescott on a moonlight night, Wilkinson's batteaux received considerable damage from a British cannonade. The molestation that he received from Morrison's corps and from the loyal local militia, was so great that he was forced to land strong brigades on the Canadian shore in order to secure a passage for his boats. At the head of the Long Sault Rapids, Wilkinson detached General Boyd with a force of over two thousand men, to crush the opposing British corps, which had taken a stand at Chrysler's Farm—a name thenceforth of potent memory. The collision took place in an open field. For two hours the battle raged. But Canadian valour and discipline prevailed over twofold odds, and the Americans retreated to their boats and crossed the river to their own territory, leaving behind one of their guns captured by the British. Their loss in this engage-

ment was over three hundred killed and wounded—more than twice that of their opponents.

Similar disaster attended the invasion of Canada by way of Lake Champlain. Early in the season, the British captured two armed schooners of the enemy. With these and three gun-boats, and a force of nine hundred soldiers, on the thirty-first of July Colonel Murray advanced from Isle-aux-Noix against the entrenched works at Plattsburg, where he captured or destroyed an immense quantity of stores, and burned the newly-built barracks for four thousand men. Early in September, General Hampton, with a well-appointed army of five thousand men, advanced from Lake Champlain, with a view to a joint attack with Wilkinson on Montreal. On the twenty-first of October he crossed the border, and pushed forward his forces along both sides of the Chateaugay River. Colonel de Salaberry, with four hundred voltigeurs—sharpshooters every one—had taken up a strong position at the junction of the Chateaugay with the Outarde, defended by a breastwork of logs and abattis. General Izzard, with a column three thousand five hundred strong, attempted to dislodge him. The voltigeurs held the enemy well in check, till they were in danger of being surrounded by sheer force of numbers. By a clever ruse, De Salaberry distributed his buglers widely through the woods in his rear, and ordered them to sound the charge. The enemy, thinking themselves assailed in force, everywhere gave way, and retreated precipitately from the field. Hampton soon retired across the borders to his entrenched camp at Plattsburg. Wilkinson, learning the shameful defeat of the "Grand Army of the North," abandoned the idea of further advance on Montreal, and retired into winter quarters on the Salmon River, within the United States boundary.

Thus the patriotism and valour of a few hundreds of Canadian troops hurled back from our country's soil two invading armies of tenfold strength, and made the names of Chrysler's Farm and Chateaugay memories of thrilling power, and pledges of the inviolable liberty of our land.

These disasters carried dismay to the heart of Colonel McClure, commanding at Fort George. Strongly pressed

by the British force under Colonel Murray, he hastily evacuated the fort, leaving all his tents and stores, and crossed the river, with the whole of his troops, December tenth. With inhuman barbarity, he fired every house in Niagara at thirty minutes warning, and drove four hundred helpless women and children, amid the icy rigours of a Canadian winter, to seek shelter in the log huts of the scattered settlers, or in the bark wigwams of the wandering Indians. The British, who immediately occupied the desolated town, soon wreaked a grim revenge for the atrocious act. In a night attack by Colonel Murray, with five hundred men, Fort Niagara, on the American side of the river, was surprised, when its garrison was wrapped in sleep, December eighteenth. The sentries were bayoneted, the guard overpowered, and the garrison awoke from slumber to a death-wrestle with an exasperated foe. Three hundred prisoners, three thousand stand of arms, and an immense quantity of stores, were captured. The British loss was eleven; that of the enemy, seventy-nine killed and wounded.

With ruthless retaliation, the British ravaged the American frontier, and gave to the flames the thriving towns of Lewiston, Manchester, Black Rock and Buffalo. At the latter place, an American force, two thousand strong, made a stout resistance, but was defeated, with the loss of four hundred men, by the British, with only one-third the number of troops, December thirtieth.

Thus the holy Christmas-tide, God's pledge of peace and good-will toward men, rose upon a fair and fertile frontier scathed and blackened by wasting and rapine, and the year went out in "tears and misery, in hatred and flames and blood."

The commerce of the United States was completely crippled by the blockade of her ports, her revenue falling from \$24,000,000 to \$8,000,000. Admiral Cockburn swept the Atlantic coast with his fleet, destroying arsenals and naval stores wherever his gun-boats could penetrate. Great Britain also recovered her old prestige in more than one stubborn sea fight with a not unworthy foe. On a lovely morning in June, the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, of forty-nine guns, stood out from Boston Harbour amid the holiday cheers of a sympa-

thizing multitude, to answer the challenge to a naval duel of H.M. ship *Shannon*, of fifty-two guns. They were soon locked muzzle to muzzle in deadly embrace, belching shot and grape through each other's sides, while the streaming gore incarnadined the waves. The British boarders swarmed on the *Chesapeake's* deck, and soon, with nearly half her crew killed or wounded, she struck her colours to the red-cross flag. In five days the shattered and blood-stained vessels crept together into Halifax harbour, the American captain lying in his cabin cold in death, the British commander raving in the delirium of a desperate wound. The slain captain was borne to his grave amid the highest honours paid to his valour by a generous foe.

With varying fortunes these sea fights were waged. Shortly after the duel of the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, the U.S. frigate *Argus*, of twenty guns, struck to H.M. brig *Pelican*, of eighteen guns. A few days later, the British brig *Boxer*, of fourteen guns, surrendered to the U.S. brig *Enterprise*, of sixteen guns. In one quiet grave, overlooking Casco Bay, their rival captains were buried side by side.

The clipper-built American vessels were generally superior to their slow-sailing British antagonists, constructed on antiquated models. They were thus able to manœuvre more nimbly, to get the weather gage, and rake with their long-range guns the British vessels with fearful effect before the latter could bring their cannon to bear. The United States vessels were also better manned, because her idle merchant marine placed a large number of unemployed sailors at the disposal of the Government.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

Money grants and army stores for the war.

Impeachment of Chief Justices Sewell and Monk.

Colonial Confederation suggested—Proffered mediation of Russia.

GENERAL WILKINSON REPULSED AT LACOLLE MILL, March 13th.

Yeo and Drummond CAPTURE OSWEGO, May 6th.

RIALL IS DEFEATED AT CHIPPEWA, July 5th.

He is reinforced by Drummond—BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE, July 25th.

Sanguinary conflict—Rout of the Americans.

Night attack on FORT ERIE—Murderous explosion, August 13th.

Desperate Sortie—FORT ERIE EVACUATED.

Prairie du Chien captured.

Maine surrenders to the British.

Prevost advances against Plattsburg.

British fleet on Lake Champlain defeated—PREVOST'S INGLORIOUS RETREAT,
August 11th.

The launch of the ST. LAWRENCE gives the British control of Lake Ontario.

Admiral Cockburn CAPTURES WASHINGTON and burns the Capitol, etc.,
August 23rd.

Alexandria ransomed—Baltimore menaced.

PEACE CONCLUDED AT GHENT, December 24th.

General Packenham DEFEATED BY JACKSON AT NEW ORLEANS, January 8th,
1815.

Effects of the war on Canada and the United States.

Valour and Patriotism of the Canadians.

PREPARATIONS for the campaign of 1814 were made on both sides with unabated energy. The legislature of Lower Canada increased the issue of army-bills to the amount of £1,500,000, and that of the upper province voted a liberal appropriation for military expenditure, and increased the efficiency of the militia system. Stores of every kind and in vast quantities were forwarded from Quebec and Montreal by brigades of sleighs to Kingston as a centre of distribution for western Canada. A deputation of Indian chiefs from the West was received at the castle of St. Louis and sent home laden with presents and confirmed in their allegiance to the British.

The Quebec legislature now revived the political strife, dormant since the beginning of the war, by the impeachment of Chief Justices Sewell and Monk, for

having invaded the privileges of parliament by the advice given Sir James Craig for its dissolution and for the imprisonment of the members, and for other alleged civil misdemeanours. Governor Prevost sustained them in office. Chief Justice Sewell went to England in his own defence, and was received with favour at the Colonial Office. He submitted to the Government a scheme for the confederation of all the British North American colonies. The proposition found favour in high quarters; but it was premature, and not till half a century later was the project consummated.

Early in the year, the Emperor of Russia offered to mediate between the belligerents in the interests of peace. Great Britain declined his interference, but proposed direct negotiations with the United States. The commissioners appointed, however, did not meet till August, and meanwhile the war became more deadly and mutually destructive than ever. The campaign opened in Lower Canada. General Wilkinson advanced with five thousand men from Plattsburg, crossed the frontier at Odelltown, and on the thirteenth of March invested five hundred British militia and regulars at the stone mill of Lacolle. For four hours these gallant men withstood an army. Incapable of forcing the British position, the enemy retreated, baffled and defeated, to Plattsburg, and for a time the tide of war ebbed away from the frontier of Lower Canada.

Early in May Sir James Yeo and General Drummond, with a thousand men, attacked Fort Oswego. The assaulting party of three hundred and forty soldiers and sailors, in the face of a heavy fire of grape, stormed the strong and well defended fort. In half an hour it was in their hands, and the stores, barracks, and shipping were destroyed. A few days later, while attempting the capture of a flotilla of barges near Sackett's Harbour, a British force was cut to pieces, with the loss of two hundred men.

Napoleon was now a prisoner in Elbe, and England was enabled to throw greater vigour into her transatlantic war. In the month of June several regiments of the veteran troops of Wellington landed at Quebec. The most sanguinary events of the campaign, how-

ever, occurred on the Niagara frontier. On July third, Generals Brown, Scott, and Ripley, with a force of four thousand men, crossed the Niagara at Buffalo and captured Fort Erie, defended by only one hundred and seventy men. General Riall, with a force of twenty-four hundred regulars, militia, and Indians, met the invaders, led by General Brown, at Chippewa. Instead of prudently remaining on the defensive, he boldly attacked the enemy, who had taken up a good position, and were well supported by artillery. The battle was fierce and bloody, but the Americans were well officered, and their steadiness in action gave evidence of improved drill. After an obstinate engagement and the exhibition of unavailing valour, the British were forced to retreat, with the loss in killed and wounded of four hundred and seventy; that of the Americans was three hundred and twenty. Riall retired in good order to Twenty Mile Creek; Brown followed to Queenston Heights, ravaged the country and burned the village of St. David's, and returned to Chippewa, followed again by Riall as far as Lundy's Lane.

In the meanwhile General Drummond, hearing at Kingston of the invasion, hastened with what troops he could collect to strengthen the British force on the frontier. Reaching Niagara on the twenty-fifth of July, he advanced with eight hundred men to support Riall. He met Riall's army in retreat before the immensely superior force of the enemy, but countermanding the movement, he immediately formed the order of battle. He occupied the gently swelling acclivity of Lundy's Lane, placing his guns in the centre, on its crest. His entire force was sixteen hundred men, that of the enemy was five thousand. The attack began at six o'clock in the evening, Drummond's troops having that hot July day marched from Niagara. The Americans made desperate efforts to capture the British battery, but the gunners stuck to their pieces, and swept with deadly fire the surging masses of the foe till some of them were bayoneted at their post. The carnage on both sides was terrible.

At length the long summer twilight closed, and the pitying night drew her veil over the horrors of the scene.

Still amid the darkness the stubborn combat raged. The American and British guns were almost muzzle to muzzle. Some of each were captured and recaptured in fierce hand-to-hand fight. About nine o'clock a lull occurred. The moon rose upon the tragic scene, lighting up the ghastly staring faces of the dead and the writhing forms of the dying, the groans of the wounded mingling awfully with the deep eternal roar of the neighbouring cataract.

The retreating van of Riall's army now returned with a body of militia, twelve hundred in all. The Americans also brought up fresh reserves, and the combat was renewed with increased fury. Thin lines of fire marked the position of the infantry, while from the hot lips of the cannon flashed red volleys of flame, revealing in brief gleams the disordered ranks struggling in the gloom. By midnight, after six hours of mortal conflict, seventeen hundred men lay dead or wounded on the field, when the Americans abandoned the hopeless contest, their loss being nine hundred and thirty, besides three hundred taken prisoners. The British loss was seven hundred and seventy. To-day the peaceful wheat-fields wave upon the sunny slopes fertilized by the bodies of so many brave men, and the ploughshare upturns rusted bullets, regimental buttons and other relics of this most sanguinary battle of the war.

Throwing their heavy baggage and tents into the rushing rapids of the Niagara, the fugitives retreated to Fort Erie, where for three weeks they were closely besieged by half their number of British. Two American schooners were very cleverly captured by Captain Dobbs, of the Royal Navy, by means of boats conveyed by sheer force of human muscles twenty miles across the country in the rear of the American lines, from the Niagara to Lake Erie.

On the thirteenth of August, after a vigorous bombardment, a night attack, in three columns, was made upon the fort. Two of the columns had already effected an entrance into the works, when the explosion of a magazine blew into the air a storming party, and caused the repulse of the British, with a loss in killed, wounded and captured of six hundred and fifty men. The Ameri-

cans, strongly reënforced, a month later made a vigorous sally from the fort, but were driven back with a loss on the part of both assailants and assailed of about four hundred. Shortly after, General Izzard blew up the works and recrossed the river to United States territory.

In the far west Mackinaw was reënforced, and Prairie du Chien, a fort on the Mississippi, was captured by the British without the loss of a single man. An American attempt to recapture Mackinaw, by a force of a thousand men, was a total failure, the only exploit of the expedition being the inglorious pillage and destruction of the undefended trading port of Ste. Marie.

Meanwhile hostile expeditions were launched from Halifax against the coast of Maine. Castine, Bangor, Machias, and the whole region from the Penobscot to the St. Croix, surrendered to the British, and were held to the close of the war.

The arrival of sixteen thousand of Wellington's peninsular troops, the heroes of so many Spanish victories, enabled Sir George Prevost to vigorously assume the offensive. A well appointed force of eleven thousand men advanced from Canada to Lake Champlain. Captain Downie, with a fleet on which the ship-carpenters were still at work as he went into action, was to coöperate with the army in an attack on Plattsburg, which was defended by five well armed vessels and by fifteen hundred men under General Macomb. The British fleet gallantly attacked the enemy, but after a desperate battle, in which Captain Downie was slain, it was compelled to surrender to a superior force. Prevost had tardily advanced his storming columns when the cheers from the fort announced the capture of the British fleet. Although on the verge of an easy victory, Prevost, fearing the fate of Burgoyne, and humanely averse to the shedding of blood, to the intense chagrin of his soldiers gave the signal to retreat. Many of his officers for very shame broke their swords and vowed that they would never serve again. While an able civil Governor, Prevost was an incompetent military commander. He was summoned home by the Horse Guards to stand a court-martial, but died in the course of the following year before the court sat.

The launch at Kingston of the *St. Lawrence*, an "oak leviathan" of a hundred guns, gave the British complete naval supremacy of Lake Ontario, and enabled them strongly to reënforce General Drummond with troops and stores.

Along the Atlantic seaboard the British maintained a harassing blockade. Admiral Cockburn, with a fleet of fifty vessels, about the middle of August arrived in the Chesapeake River, and General Ross, with four thousand men, attacked Washington and gave to the flames the Capitol, White House, and other public buildings—a retaliation for the burning of York unworthy of a great nation. Alexandria was saved from destruction only by a heavy ransom, and the city of Baltimore was seriously menaced.

On the eighth of January, 1815, General Packenham, with a force of about six thousand men, attacked the city of New Orleans, which was defended by General Jackson with a much superior army. Jackson had thrown up formidable breast-works faced with cotton bales, forming a very effective protection. The slaughter of the British in a series of engagements was frightful. Packenham with many of his bravest troops were slain, and the attack was completely repulsed.

Peace had already been concluded at Ghent on the twenty-fourth of December, and was hailed with delight by the kindred peoples, wearied with mutual and un-availing slaughter. The calm verdict of history finds much ground of extenuation for the revolt of 1776; but for the American declaration of war in 1812, little or none. A reckless Democratic majority wantonly invaded the country of an unoffending neighbouring people, to seduce them from their lawful allegiance and annex their territory. The long and costly conflict was alike bloody and barren. The Americans annexed not a single foot of territory. They gained not a single permanent advantage. Their seaboard was insulted, their capital destroyed. Their annual exports were reduced from £22,000,000 to £1,500,000. Three thousand of their vessels were captured. Two-thirds of their commercial class were insolvent. A vast war tax was incurred, and the very existence of the Union imperilled by the

menaced secession of the New England states. The "right of search" and the rights of neutrals—the ostensible but not the real causes of the war—were not even mentioned in the treaty of peace. The adjustment of unsettled boundaries was referred to a commission, and an agreement was made for a combined effort for the suppression of the slave trade. The United States, however, continued its internal slave traffic, of a character even more obnoxious than that which it engaged to suppress.

On Canada, too, the burden of the war fell heavily. Great Britain, exhausted by nearly twenty years of conflict, and still engaged in a strenuous struggle against the European despot, Napoleon, could only, till near the close of the war, furnish scanty military aid. It was Canadian militia, with little help from British regulars, who won the brilliant victories of Chrysler's Farm and Chateauguay; and throughout the entire conflict they were the principal defence of their country. In many a Canadian home bitter tears were shed for son or sire left cold and stark upon the bloody plain at Queenston Heights, or Chippewa, or Lundy's Lane, or other hard-fought field of battle.

The lavish expenditure of the Imperial authorities, for shipbuilding, transport service, and army supplies, and the free circulation of the paper money issued by the Canadian Government,* greatly stimulated the prosperity of the country. Its peaceful industries, agriculture, and the legitimate development of its natural resources, however, were greatly interrupted, and vast amounts of public and private property were relentlessly confiscated or destroyed by the enemy.

* The paper currency of the United States was not redeemed till it had greatly depreciated in value, to the often ruinous loss of the holders.

CHAPTER XXII.

AFTER THE WAR—LOWER CANADA.

- The close of the War—State of the Country.
Progress in Manufactures—Immigration—Internal Development.
1816. Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, Governor-General—Political strife renewed.
1818. The Duke of Richmond, Governor-General—The Assembly refuses a Supply Bill.
1819. Tragical death of the Governor-General,
1820. Death of George III. and accession of George IV.—Papineau's Speech.
“ The Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-General—Conflict between Council and Assembly.
1822. Union of the Provinces proposed—Favoured by the English, opposed by the French.
1824. Default of the Receiver-General—He is sustained by the Council.
1828. Imperial Commission on Canadian affairs—Its report.
Nova Scotia and New Brunswick after the War.
A great fire devastates New Brunswick.
The Boundary Lines dispute—Referred to King of the Netherlands.

AT the conclusion of the war the fictitious prosperity created by the military expenditure rapidly declined, and its financial burdens, in the form of militia pensions and gratuities to the widows and orphans of the slain, were severely felt. Grants of money were made by the legislature of Lower Canada for the construction of the Lachine and Rideau canals, and the accurate survey of the country was projected. Domestic manufactures, such as those of leather, hats, paper, and to some extent, of iron, had been introduced; and saw mills and grist mills multiplied on the inland streams. From the ashes of the forests, burned in the clearing of the land, a considerable quantity of potash and pearlash was produced. Colonization roads were greatly extended and improved. Shipbuilding was actively prosecuted, especially at Quebec. The Banks of Montreal, Quebec and Kingston were established, and greatly facilitated the trade of the province. Immigration, in consequence of the depression of trade in the old countries, largely increased, and the new settlers were liberally aided by the government with rations and implements. Steam navigation was ex-

tended on the St. Lawrence and the lakes, and the transatlantic trade of Quebec sprang into importance.

Still the population was sparse—averaging in Upper Canada only seven per square mile. Schools, teachers, and medical men were few and not always the most efficient. Lower Canada was divided into parishes, each with its resident *curé*; but in the upper province the people were dependent for religious instruction largely on the zeal of itinerant missionaries, chiefly of the Methodist persuasion.

Sir Gordon Drummond, the hero of Lundy's Lane and a native of Quebec, administered the government, in the place of Sir George Prevost, recalled, till the arrival of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke from Nova Scotia.

1816 The conflict between the Legislative Assembly and the Council, which had been suspended during the war, now revived. The impeachment of Chief Justices Sewell and Monk was dismissed by the Prince-Regent, and was finally abandoned by the Assembly, out-wearied and out-manœuvred by official influence, which largely controlled the action of both Assembly and Council. The slight restraint on the government which the Lower House possessed was largely neutralized by the independent sources of revenue from duties levied by the Imperial authorities which the colonial administration might expend without the consent of the Assembly.

On the arrival, in 1818, of the Duke of Richmond, previously Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who succeeded Sir John Sherbrooke as Governor-General, the civil list, or appropriation for the maintenance of the government and judiciary, was largely increased. The Assembly, in assertion of its constitutional rights, cut down several items of expenditure, chiefly salaries; but the Council refused to pass its amended supply bill, and thus a deadlock ensued. The Governor-General made a progress through Upper Canada, and on his return met with a tragical fate. While at Ottawa he was bitten by a tame fox, and shortly after died amid the pangs of hydrophobia, August twenty-seventh, 1819. The administration of public affairs devolved upon his son-in-law, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

The general election of 1820 resulted unfavourably to the Government. The Assembly refused to do business on the ground that the House was incomplete, as the member for Gaspé had not been elected. On the twenty-ninth of January, in the sixtieth year of his eventful reign and in the eighty-second year of his age, infirm, blind, beclouded in intellect but beloved by his subjects, King George III. died. In accordance with a not very rational usage, all the provincial Assemblies were dissolved. Thus the collision of authority between the two branches of the legislature in Lower Canada was for a time postponed, and amid the ringing of joy bells and firing of cannon, George IV. was proclaimed king. In a public address of loyal congratulation, M. Papineau, the Speaker of the Assembly, contrasted the happy condition of the French under English rule with their misery under the old *régime*. He lived, as we shall see, to change his opinion.

The Earl of Dalhousie, a veteran soldier of distinguished experience, became the new Governor-General. With singularly high notions of vice-regal prerogative, he demanded a vote of supply for the period of the King's life. The Assembly resisted the demand. The Governor, by the advice of the Council, drew on the moneys in the hands of the Receiver-General. The Assembly denounced the act as unconstitutional. The breach between the two branches of the legislature grew wider. The Upper House consisted chiefly of government dependants and English-speaking members, and favoured the monopoly of power exercised by the executive. The Lower House was largely French, and was naturally jealous of the dominant party, and of the distribution of patronage and positions of emolument. The growing English-speaking population, dissatisfied with the feudal land tenure and inconvenient administration of justice in accordance with the French code, urged the union of the two Canadas, and the suppression of the French language in the legislature, the French laws in the courts, and the French tenure of land. The French resented the union scheme as a denationalizing policy and a violation of their guaranteed rights and privileges. The Assembly strongly protested against the union, and numerous signed anti-

union petitions were sent to the Imperial parliament. That body withdrew the union scheme, and passed the Canada Trade Act, providing for the distribution of revenue arising from duties more equitably to the increased population of the upper province.

A just grievance intensified the resentment of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada against the Upper House. Sir John Caldwell, Receiver-General of the province, was found a defaulter to the amount of £96,000 of public moneys, and was yet retained as a member of the Executive Council. The Assembly reasserted its right to the control of the crown revenue. The Governor as vehemently resisted, and violently dissolved the House, 1827. The public indignation at what was considered a subversion of the constitution was intense. Tumultuous meetings were held, and petitions, signed by eighty-seven thousand persons, invoked the redress of their political grievances. Ten thousand of the British population petitioned for the union of the Canadas as the best or only solution of the legislative difficulty.

A commission was appointed by the Imperial parliament to investigate the civil condition of Canada. It reported in favour of liberal concessions and reforms. Its principal recommendations were the following: That the crown duties should be placed under the control of the Assembly, which should make permanent provision for the civil expenses of government; that the Executive and Legislative Councils, in both provinces, should be rendered more independent of crown influence by the introduction of gentlemen without official position, and in Lower Canada, without invidious distinctions as to British or French nationality, or Protestant or Catholic religion; that a board of audit examine the public accounts; that the electoral representation be equitably readjusted; that the land tenure of British settlers be conformed to English law; and that the crown land and clergy reserve administration be reformed so as to promote the settlement of the country. The report of the commissioners produced the most lively gratification in Lower Canada. A week before its arrival, Lord Dalhousie sailed for England, and was thus spared the mortification of witnessing a

policy of conciliation substituted for one of coercion. He was subsequently appointed Governor-General of India, and there won merited distinction by his vigorous administration.

The provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had felt little of the direct burdens of the late war, but had benefited, the former especially, very greatly by the increased military and naval expenditure. The vast fleets of Great Britain rendezvoused in the spacious harbour of Halifax, the guns of the citadel continually welcomed the arrival of prizes in tow of British cruisers, and the Imperial dockyard was busy with repairs. With the peace all this ceased, the revenue was greatly reduced, and numbers of workmen were thrown out of employment. The Earl of Dalhousie and Sir James Kempt successively administered the affairs of the colony, and wisely fostered education, agriculture, and public improvements. In 1820, Cape Breton was incorporated as a county of Nova Scotia.

In 1818, New Brunswick received its first Governor, General George Tracey Smythe. The irrepressible conflict between the two branches of the legislature became the occasion of acrimonious disputes till his death in 1823. Sir Howard Douglas, his successor, greatly promoted the internal development of the province, the construction of roads and the cultivation of the soil—too much neglected in the almost exclusive devotion to lumbering and shipbuilding. In the autumn of 1825, a terrible disaster overwhelmed the colony. A long drought had parched the forest into tinder. Numerous fires had laid waste the woods and farms. On the seventh of October, a storm of flame swept over the country for sixty miles—from Miramichi to the Bay of Chaleurs. A pitchy darkness covered the sky, lurid flames swept over the earth, consuming the forest, houses, barns, crops, and the towns of Newcastle and Douglas. One hundred and sixty persons perished in the flames or in their efforts to escape, and hundreds were maimed for life. The loss of property was immense. The generous aid of the sister provinces, and of Great Britain and the United States, greatly mitigated the sufferings of

the hapless inhabitants made homeless on the eve of a rigorous winter.

Some excitement was subsequently occasioned (1827) by a filibustering raid across the frontier, between Maine and New Brunswick, for the purpose of claiming a portion of the disputed territory as belonging to the United States. The raid was promptly repressed by the civil authorities, and the question of boundary was referred to the decision of the King of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AFTER THE WAR—UPPER CANADA.

1815. Francis Gore, Esq., Lieut.-Governor—The Clergy Reserve grievance.
The "FAMILY COMPACT"—Its status and influence.
ROBERT GOURLAY agitates against Crown Land administration.
1818. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor.
1822. The "Canada Trade Act" adjusts fiscal difficulties between the provinces.
Internal navigation improved—Welland Canal projected.
The REV. DR. STRACHAN, a member of the Legislative Council.
Law Reforms—Reaction against the Family Compact.
1826. WILLIAM LYON, MACKENZIE—His printing office wrecked.
1829. Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor—ROBERT BALDWIN becomes a Reform leader.
Mackenzie agitates against political grievances—Is persecuted into popularity.
1834. TORONTO INCORPORATED—Mackenzie first Mayor.
1836. Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-Governor.

IN Upper Canada, at the close of the war, General Drummond was succeeded in the administration of the government by Generals Murray and Robinson, for a couple of months each, till the return of its former civilian Governor, Francis Gore, Esq., September twenty-fifth, 1815. A free passage and liberal grants of land induced a large immigration from Great Britain; but settlers from the United States, as a precaution against undue American influence, were refused land grants or permission to become naturalized subjects. The legislature voted an annual grant of £2,500 for the civil list, and a liberal sum for the founding of a public school system, the basis of that which we to-day possess. A good deal of dissatisfaction was felt at the delay in giving the promised grants of land to the volunteers and militia, and at the exclusive claim of the Church of England to one-seventh of the public lands of the province, set apart for the "support of a protestant clergy." It was felt that these "reserves" constituted too large a proportion of the territory of the country; that their reservation retarded its settlement; and that their appropriation for the ex-

clusive advantage of any denomination was a practical injustice to all others, and introduced into the mixed population of Canada the social and religious inequalities and jealousies inseparable from the existence of an endowed and established state church.

We have seen how, before the war, the principal offices of trust, honour and emolument were largely engrossed by an aristocratic party—a natural consequence of the superior social position of its members, and their greater educational fitness for the discharge of official duties. This party, which from the intimate social relations of its leading spirits became known as the "Family Compact," was greatly strengthened during and after the war, and almost entirely controlled the executive administration of the province. It furnished the members of the Legislative and Executive Councils, and filled the offices which managed the finances and public lands. Its adherents formed the majority of the Legislative Assembly, and were often place-men whose votes maintained the monopoly of power in the hands of their patrons. Any adverse criticism of the acts of the government or discussion of public grievances in the press or in public assemblies was resented as a seditious interference with the lawful authorities, and was punished by libel suits, imprisonment, social ostracism, and loss of any public office that the offender might hold. This "Compact" was extremely unpopular with a large proportion of the population, especially with many of the British and American immigrants, and a prolonged struggle resulted in the overthrow of its authority, and the establishment of the principles of responsible government.

One of the earliest and most vigorous opponents of the Family Compact was Robert Gourlay, a Scottish immigrant of an energetic and ambitious, yet eccentric character. For the purpose of establishing himself as a land agent, and in order to promote immigration on an extensive scale, he addressed a series of statistical questions to the principal inhabitants of each municipality. The answers received disclosed serious abuses in the management of the crown lands and clergy reserves. Mr. Gourlay called a convention, at York, of delegates

from the townships, for the purpose of adopting a petition to the Imperial parliament for the redress of these 1818 grievances. For expressions in his petition and addresses deemed libellous, Gourlay was twice put on his trial and as often acquitted. He afterwards suffered a long imprisonment on charge of sedition, and was expelled from the country through the strained interpretation of the Alien Act of 1804, which was designed to check the political influence of immigrants from the United States.

In the meanwhile Mr. Gore had been succeeded as Governor by Sir Peregrine Maitland, the son-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, the Governor-General. The brusque military bearing of Sir Peregrine, together with his high notions of official prerogative, his alliance with the Family Compact, and his arbitrary treatment of Gourlay, alienated from him the popular sympathy, and intensified the feeling of dissatisfaction towards the party in power. The increased independence of the Legislative Assembly was indicated by the repeal of the Act against political conventions passed two years before, and the adoption, to the intense chagrin of the land speculators, of Gourlay's suggestion for the taxation of wild lands.* The population of the province having now increased to one hundred and twenty thousand, the electoral representation in the Assembly was also nearly doubled.

The union of the Canadas, proposed in the Imperial parliament as an adjustment of their conflicting claims, was generally favoured in the upper province; but as we have seen, in consequence of the intense opposition of the French population of Lower Canada, the proposition for the time was withdrawn. A standing grievance of the western province was the collection at Montreal and Quebec of the revenue duties imposed by Lower Canada on all imports—of which at first only one-eighth, and afterwards one-fifth, were refunded to Upper Canada. As the latter grew in wealth and population, and its imports increased in value, this was felt to be a growing injustice. The Canada Trade Act of 1822 more equit-

* Mr. Gourlay, in 1822, published a work on Canada, largely statistical, in three large volumes, and twice afterwards visited the country. He was subject to seasons of mental aberration, and was once imprisoned for an assault on Lord Brougham in the lobby of the British House of Commons.

ably distributed these duties and removed this grievance. It restored to the upper province £30,000 of arrears due by Lower Canada. A good deal of smuggling all along the American frontier, however, largely defrauded the revenue, and corrupted the moral sense of the community.

Several steamboats now sailed on the lakes and on the St. Lawrence, but the passage of the rapids was made in large flat "Durham boats," which were generally sold at Montreal or Quebec to save the expense of time and toil in returning against the strong current. The Lachine and Rideau Canals were now approaching completion, and the Welland Canal, a work of great national utility, connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, was projected by the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, of the Niagara District. Banks were also established in the principal towns, but the benefit to be derived from them was greatly lessened by the large number of American counterfeit bills which were in circulation. Agricultural societies greatly improved the mode of tillage, which was still very imperfect. Farm produce brought scarcely remunerative prices, and the growth of hemp and tobacco received a good deal of attention. Agricultural implements were still of very rude construction, and labour-saving machines, such as reapers or mowers, were unknown. Many new townships were surveyed and thrown open to settlement. Our public school system had already been established, 1816, and was aided in its infancy by legislative grants.

In 1821, five new members were added to the Legislative Council—one of whom was a man destined to exert a powerful influence on the history of Canada. The Rev. Dr. Strachan, who became in 1839 the first Anglican Bishop of Upper Canada, was the son of humble Scottish parents, members of the Presbyterian Kirk. He received some classical training and became a tutor, first in Scotland, and afterwards at Kingston, in Canada. He subsequently taught the grammar school at Cornwall, joined the Church of England, and became, in rapid succession, rector of York, chaplain to the Legislative Assembly and member of the Legislative Council. When raised to the episcopal dignity, his missionary zeal and energy largely

contributed to the extension and prosperity of the Church of England in this country, on whose behalf he also exerted his political influence.*

Indications were not wanting that a popular reaction was taking place against the party in power. The feeling against the monopoly by the Anglican Church of the clergy reserves, was shown by an appeal from the 1823 Assembly to the British parliament for the admission of the Kirk of Scotland to a share of this liberal endowment. The levying of ecclesiastical tithes was prohibited. A bill authorizing Methodist ministers to perform the marriage ceremony was passed by the Assembly, but rejected by the Upper House. The general election of 1824 resulted in favour of the Reform party, as it now began to be called. Among the members elected were Dr. Rolph, Peter Perry and Marshal Bidwell, prominent champions of popular rights, to prevent whose return the Family Compact had made every effort.

The chief thorn in the side of the hitherto dominant party, however, was a new "grievance monger" of the Gourlay stamp. William Lyon Mackenzie, born 1795, was the son of humble Perthshire parents. After a somewhat restless and erratic career in the old country, he emigrated in his twenty-fifth year to Canada. After a varied experience at storekeeping in Toronto, Dundas and Niagara, he found at last his true vocation as a journalist. His intense hatred of injustice, and his natural impetuosity of disposition hurried him into intemperance of expression and action. His remarkable industry in ferreting out abuses, which were only too easily found, and his pungent style of editorial criticism, made the *Colonial Advocate* particularly obnoxious to the party in 1826 power. During a temporary absence from home his printing office at York was sacked, his press wrecked, and his type scattered by some young men connected with the dominant party, which had taken offence at the biting criticism of his paper upon some of their public acts. He sued the aggressors for damages, and received the award of £625. He also won popularity as

* He died November 2, 1867, aged eighty-nine.

a champion of popular rights, and was shortly after returned as a Reform member of the Assembly for the county of York.

Sir John Colborne, a gentleman of somewhat stern military character, who had succeeded as Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland, transferred to Lower Canada, 1829 met a new parliament more outspoken in its opposition to the Executive Council than any that had preceded it. The "Compact" sustained a defeat in its stronghold in the election of Robert Baldwin over its candidate, Mr. Charles Small, for the representation of the town of York. Mr. Baldwin, who was a native of the town which he now represented, during the entire course of his public life commanded the esteem of both political parties. His personal integrity, his legal ability, his singular moderation, enabled him, as has been admirably said, "to lead his country through a great constitutional crisis into an era of larger and more matured liberty."

On the thirtieth of November in this year, 1829, the Welland Canal was opened for navigation, thus inaugurating a new era in the commerce of the country.

The Legislative Assembly continued to assert its right of control over the revenues of the province, and did not 1830 hesitate, although in vain, to ask for the dismissal of the Executive Council. The growing breach between the two branches of the legislature was seen in the rejection by the Upper House of forty bills passed by the Assembly. The struggle for "Responsible Government" had begun. Mackenzie's perpetual grievance motions were continually unearthing abuses that needed correction. Pension lists, official salaries, the corrupt constitution of the House, were all attacked with stinging sarcasm. The inequalities of representation were glaring. One member had only thirty constituents. The members for York and Lanark represented more persons than the members for fifteen other constituencies. The House was filled with place-men—postmasters, sheriffs, registrars, revenue officers and collectors.

Outside of the House Mackenzie was equally active. He traversed the country, held public meetings, and circulated petitions to the throne, which were signed by

nearly twenty-five thousand persons, praying for the secularization of the clergy reserves, for law reform, for the exclusion of judges and the clergy from parliament, for the abolition of primogeniture, for the legislative control of public moneys, and for other reforms which have long since become the law of the land. A caustic article in the *Colonial Advocate* was deemed a breach of parliamentary privilege, and Mackenzie was expelled from the House. He was triumphantly returned again, and presented with a gold medal. Within a week he was again expelled, and within another he was reëlected by an immense majority, and was sent to England to support the petition to the King for the redress of grievances. On his return he was again three times expelled from the Assembly, and as often returned by large majorities. He was also made first mayor of

1834 Toronto, now incorporated as a city. The Family Compact lost influence with each defeat of their candidate, and Sir John Colborne, unable to control the

1836 rising tide of political agitation, requested his recall, and was succeeded by Sir Francis Bond Head.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REBELLION—LOWER CANADA.

1827. Political disaffection—The breach widens between the Assembly and the Executive Council.
1828. Sir James Kempt, Governor-General.
1830. Lord Aylmer, Governor-General—Fatal election riot at Montreal.
1831. Large immigration—Outbreak of cholera.
1834. Papineau's "Ninety-two Resolutions" of grievance—Second visitation of cholera.
1835. Lord Gosford, Governor-General—The commission on grievances fails to conciliate disaffection.
1837. The British Parliament refuses an elective Council.
Seditious gatherings—Accession of Queen Victoria.
Sir John Colborne assumes chief military command—Troops concentrate at Montreal.
Papineau inflames sedition.
COLLISION AT MONTREAL, November 6th.
The Rebels rendezvous on the Richelieu—Repulse of Colonel Gore—Murder of Lieutenant Weir, November 23rd.
Colonel Wetherall ROUTS REBELS AT ST. CHARLES, November 25th.
Sir John Colborne ROUTS REBELS AT ST. EUSTACHE and St. Benoit, December 14th.
1838. Lord Durham, Governor-General and High Commissioner—His magnanimous character—He exiles leaders and pardons other rebels—His policy condemned as *ultra vires*—His chagrin and resignation—His masterly REPORT.
- SECOND OUTBREAK OF REBELLION—Insurgents ROUTED AT ODELLTOWN. November 9th—Rebellion suppressed in Lower Canada.

IN Lower Canada, in the meanwhile, the breach between the popular Assembly and the Executive Council was continually becoming wider. The liberal concessions of the Home Government were met by increased and unreasonable demands. The object sought was not, as in Upper Canada, the establishment of responsible government, but to effect the supremacy of the French race and its absolute control over the executive. [The government refused to give up its casual and territorial revenue, derived from timber and mining dues and the sale of crown lands, which had been guaranteed to it by the Quebec Act of 1774, or to render the Legislative Council

elective, and thus make it the facile instrument of the French majority.*

The conciliatory policy of Sir James Kempt, who succeeded Lord Dalhousie in 1828, equally with that of Lord Aylmer, who became Governor in 1830, failed to satisfy the aggressive demands of the Assembly. Although the control of the revenue was ceded to it, it ungenerously refused to vote the supplies for the civil list. An election riot in Montreal, in which three men were killed by the fire of the military, intensified the national antipathy of the French to the British. During the summer of 1831, an immigration of fifty thousand souls, chiefly Irish, arrived at Quebec, and passed up the valley of the St. Lawrence, "like a disorganized army," said a contemporary journal, "leaving the inhabitants to provide for the sick and wounded and to bury the dead." The dreadful ravages of the cholera, which spread from Grosse Isle over the whole country, carried death and dismay to almost all the frontier towns and villages. The immigration of the "British foreigners," as they were called, was denounced as an invasion of the territorial rights of the French population. Three years later, a still more fatal visitation of the cholera occurred.

M. Papineau, ten years previously the eulogist of British power, now exhausted his rhetoric in inveighing against its tyranny. In the celebrated "Ninety-
1834 two Resolutions" the Assembly again laid its grievances before the Home Government. After a patient examination of the colonial complaints, Lord Gosford was appointed to succeed Lord Aylmer in the
1835 ungrateful office of Governor, and with him were associated Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps as a commission of inquiry to investigate the alleged grievances of the Assembly. These liberal measures failed to conciliate the turbulent French majority. Papineau, the idol of the ignorant habitants, intoxicated with power, boldly avowed his republican principles. "The time has gone by," he said, "when Europe could give monarchs to America. The epoch is approaching when America will give republics to Europe." Visions

* Only eleven out of eighty-eight members of the Assembly in 1830, or one-eighth of the whole, were British.

of *La Nation Canadienne*, whose positions of dignity should be engrossed by himself and his countrymen, lured him on to open rebellion. The French were known to be secretly drilling, and loyal volunteer associations were formed among the British population for the defence of the government.

The spark was applied to these explosive elements by the action of the British parliament on the report of the 1837 royal commission of inquiry. Wearied by the rejection of its policy of conciliation, the Home Government now adopted one of a more vigorous character. For five years the Assembly had voted no civil list. The British officials and judges were reduced to extreme distress. The Governor-General was empowered to take £142,000 out of the treasury to pay these arrears. The demand for an elective Council was refused. The indignation of the French population was intense. They met in turbulent assemblies with arms in their hands. Lord Gosford issued a proclamation forbidding these seditious gatherings. It was torn down with contempt, and with shouts of "Long live Papineau!" "Down with despotism!" The habitants were urged to use no material of British manufacture, and their leaders appeared clad in homespun. The accession, after an interval of a century and a quarter, of a female sovereign awoke no feelings of loyalty in the rebel faction, and they plotted as vigorously against the throne and crown of Queen Victoria as they had against the citizen King, William IV. The Roman Catholic bishops and clergy now interposed their authority to prevent an outbreak, and though their influence for a time seemed disregarded, they contributed effectively to the suppression of the revolt.

Never was a people less fitted for the exercise of political power than the French habitants. Nine-tenths of them were unable to read, and none of them had any spark of that love of constitutional liberty in which the English nation had so long been trained. With a blind partizanship they followed the demagogues who had inflamed their national prejudices and passions. Apparently the liberal party in Lower Canada, they yet advocated reactionary measures, and strove to revive the

old French policy of resistance to popular education, immigration, or any innovation of English customs, laws, language, or institutions. The British population, the real safeguard of constitutional liberty, although largely conservative of class privileges, were driven by the violence of the French into an apparent opposition to some of its vital principles.

To meet the coming storm, Sir John Colborne, a prompt and energetic officer, was appointed to the military command of the provinces. The few troops in Upper and Lower Canada, only some three thousand in all, were chiefly concentrated at Montreal, the focus of disaffection. The military stores, during the long peace of twenty-two years, were well nigh destroyed by damp and rust, or consumed by moths and worms. But Papineau, the leader of the rebellion, was an empty gasconader, void of statesmanship or military ability—"a braggart in the forum, a coward in the field." Dr. Wolfred Nelson, the second in command, was of English descent, born in Montreal, and speaking French like a native. He was thoroughly identified in sympathy with the habitants and under the influence of Papineau, but had more of the military spirit than his political leader. As the summer waned the symptoms of revolt increased. The French tri-colour and eagle appeared, and turbulent mobs of "Patriots" or of "Sons of Liberty" sang revolutionary songs. At length an armed collision with the loyalists in the streets of Montreal (November sixth, 1837), in which shots were fired, windows broken, and the office of the *Vindicator*, a radical paper, wrecked, although no one was killed, brought matters to a crisis.

The insurgents rendezvoused at St. Charles and St. Denis, on the Richelieu, where there was considerable disaffection among the population. The proximity of American territory furnished facilities for assistance from sympathisers and of escape for fugitives. On the twenty-third of November Colonel Gore, with three hundred men and only one cannon, attacked Dr. Nelson, with a large body of rebels, at the latter place. Papineau, on the first appearance of danger, deserted his dupes and fled over the border into the United States. Nelson,

strongly posted in a large stone brewery, maintained a vigorous defence. Gore's command, worn out with a long march through November rain and mire, out-numbered and without artillery for battering the stone walls, was compelled, after six hours' fighting, to retreat, with the loss of six killed and seventeen wounded. Lieutenant Weir, a young officer carrying dispatches, was intercepted and barbarously hacked to death by the habitants.

Two days later, Colonel Wetherall, with four or five hundred troops, attacked a thousand rebels under "General" Brown, at St. Charles. After a brief resistance the rebels fled, leaving fifty-six slain. Several also perished miserably in the houses fired in revenge for the death of Weir. Nelson now fled from St. Denis, but after ten days' skulking in the snowy woods was caught, and, with many other rebel prisoners, lodged in Montreal jail.

Martial law was now proclaimed. In the middle of December, Sir John Colborne, with two thousand troops, left Montreal to attack a thousand insurgents intrenched at St. Eustache, on the Ottawa. The main body fled, but four hundred threw themselves into the church and adjacent buildings. The shot and shells of the cannon soon fired the roof and battered the walls. A hundred rebels were killed, as many wounded, and as many more made prisoners. At St. Benoit, a hot-bed of sedition, two hundred and fifty men surrendered under a flag of truce, and, except their leaders, were sent home unhurt.

1838 On the twenty-eighth of February, six hundred rebel refugees crossed the American United States frontier, but were repulsed by the local militia, and afterwards disarmed by the United States authorities at Plattsburg.

Lord Gosford was now recalled, though without any censure of his policy. The Home Government suspended the constitution of the country, and appointed the Earl of Durham Governor-General and high commissioner for the settlement of public affairs in the two Canadas. He was a nobleman of great political experience, and had been educated in a liberal school. His personal character was attractive, and his private hospitality princely. He

was to the last degree unmercenary, refusing any recompense for his distinguished services. He was refined and courteous in manner, but tenacious of his convictions of duty, and firm in carrying them into execution. On his arrival in the country, May twenty-seventh, he announced himself as the friend and arbitrator of the people, without distinction of party, race or creed. And amply he fulfilled his pledge in the spirit of the purest and most disinterested statesmanship. He appointed a commission of inquiry into the state of the country, redressed grievances in the administration of the crown land department, and, as an equitable adjustment of urgent claims, granted preëmption rights to "squatters" on unpatented public territory.

A difficult question was how to deal with the political prisoners with whom the jails were crowded. The excited state of public feeling prevented impartial trial by jury. The murderers of Weir and other victims of the rebellion had been acquitted, notwithstanding proof positive of their guilt. An amnesty was therefore granted to the great mass of the prisoners, which was appropriately proclaimed on the day appointed for the coronation of the maiden Queen—June the fourteenth. Humanely unwilling to appeal to the arbitrament of a court-martial, the Governor banished Wolfred Nelson and eight other leading insurgents to Bermuda—a light penalty for their crime—and forbade Papineau and other fugitive rebels to return to the country, under pain of death.

The Imperial parliament, however, annulled the ordinance as *ultra vires*, but indemnified the Governor and Council from blame for their unconstitutional act. The proud and sensitive Earl resigned his commission, and returned to England a broken-hearted and dying man. His report on the state of Canada is a monument of elaborate and impartial research, and prepared the way for the union of the provinces, and the subsequent prosperity of the country.

The departure of the Earl of Durham was the signal for fresh outbreaks. The insurgents stopped the mails, captured a steamboat at Beauharnois, and cut the St. John railway. The Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended, and the troops, which had been strongly reën-

forced during the summer, were distributed through the disaffected regions to protect the loyal inhabitants. On Sunday, November fifth, an attack was made on the Indian village of Caughnawaga for the purpose of seizing the arms and stores deposited there. The Christian Indians, rushing out of the church in which they were assembled, raised the war-whoop, and captured sixty-four of the attacking party.

Robert Nelson, a brother of the exiled revolutionary leader, had crossed the frontier with a large body of rebel refugees and American sympathizers, and proclaimed a Canadian republic. While Sir John Colborne was advancing with troops to suppress the outbreak, on the ninth of November two hundred militia at Odelltown, posted in the Methodist church, kept at bay a thousand of the insurgents, and, reënforced by a hundred men, drove them over the border, with the loss of sixty killed and as many wounded. The loyalists lost five killed and ten wounded. The revolt was promptly crushed, but with extreme severity, the loyalists retaliating for the ravages and pillaging of the insurgents by devastating with fire the disaffected sections of the country, and dragging with violence suspected rebels to prison. Twelve of these, after a fair trial, were executed, and several others transported.

The rash and infatuated outbreak of the deluded habitants was the cause of much bloodshed and misery, and was utterly unjustifiable by their circumstances. They enjoyed a larger degree of liberty than did their race in any other country in the world, and every possible concession of the Imperial Government to their requests was only met by more unreasonable demands. The duped and ignorant people were lured on to destruction by restless and designing demagogues, who in the hour of danger abandoned them to their fate, seeking selfish safety in flight. Never should the appeal to arms be made till every constitutional means of escape from oppression—which under British rule these men had never known—has been exhausted.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REBELLION—UPPER CANADA.

1836. SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD, Governor of Upper Canada—He takes sides with the Family Compact.
Messrs. Rolph, Baldwin, and Dunn called to the Executive Council—
They fail to secure Responsible Government, and resign.
Speaker Bidwell compromises Reformers by correspondence with Papineau.
Governor Head's loyal defiance—Evokes outburst of party enthusiasm.
Mackenzie defeated at the polls—He rushes into rebellion.
Lord John Russell's "Ten Resolutions" refuse Elective Council.
1837. Seditious Gatherings—Rebel Plans—Apathy of the Government.
THE RENDEZVOUS AT GALLOWES HILL—The Alarm in Toronto—Rally of the Citizens, December 4th.
Death of Colonel Moodie—Intrigues of Dr. Rolph.
Night attack of the rebels—It is repulsed.
Van Egmond's exploit—REBELS ROUTED AT GALLOWES HILL, Dec. 7th.
Loyal enthusiasm of the militia.
Duncombe's attempted rising in the West.
Collapse of the Rebellion.

WE now proceed to trace the contemporary events in the upper province. The great majority of the liberal party in Upper Canada sought reform only by constitutional measures. A small minority were betrayed into rebellion by party leaders stung to resentment by the disappointment of their hope of radical changes. The mass of the population maintained an unshaken loyalty, and the revolt was suppressed almost entirely by the volunteer militia, without the aid of Imperial troops.

The agent chosen by the Home Government to calm the increasing political agitation of Upper Canada was by no means well adapted for that purpose. Sir Francis Bond Head was a half-pay Major and Poor-Law Commissioner, known to fame chiefly as a sprightly writer and dashing horseman, who had twice crossed the pampas of South America from Buenos Ayres to the Andes. His military training and somewhat impulsive temperament rather unfitted him for the performance of the civil duties which the critical relations of parties in the province made necessary.

On his arrival at Toronto, in January, 1836, he found the parliament in session, and was almost immediately involved in the political strife that agitated the colony. Mackenzie, the most radical and extreme of the Reform party, had been elevated by the persecution of the Family Compact into the position of a popular leader, for which neither his talents nor his weight of character adapted him. Moderate Reformers, of the Robert Baldwin stamp, were left behind by the more violent agitator and his allies. The Reform party had been led to expect in Sir Francis a friend to their principles. He invited three of its members, Messrs. Rolph, Baldwin, and Dunn, to the Executive Council, but refused to recognize the doctrine of its responsibility to the Legislative Assembly, for which they contended.

Messrs. Mackenzie and Bidwell sought an early interview in order to urge upon him their radical policy ; but Sir Francis, unjustly attributing to the whole Reform party their extreme views, threw himself into the arms of the Family Compact, and adopted those principles of irresponsible administration against which the Reformers had been so long contending. The Reform members of the Council resigned their places, which were filled by members of the Conservative party, as it now began to be called. The Assembly, with remarkable unanimity, censured the reactionary policy of the Government, and for the first time exercised its constitutional prerogative of refusing to vote the supplies.

Mr. Bidwell, the Speaker of the Assembly, seriously compromised the character of the Reform party by reading in the House a letter from Papineau, urging the Reformers of the upper province to unite with the anti-British party in Lower Canada in demanding the redress of their grievances. In dissolving the parliament, Sir Francis denounced the letter as seditious, and, alluding to a covert insinuation that the people of the United States would assist a republican movement, he dramatically exclaimed, "In the name of every militia regiment in Upper Canada, I promulgate, 'Let them come if they dare!'"

Conceiving that the very principles of the British constitution were at stake, he threw himself actively into the

political contest. By published addresses and popular harangues, he so roused the loyal enthusiasm of the people that the Reform party was badly beaten at the polls, and its leaders were excluded from parliament. Mackenzie is said to have wept tears of chagrin and mortification at his defeat. He seems now to have abandoned all hope of the redress of political grievances by constitutional means, and to have secretly resolved to have recourse to violence to accomplish his purpose.

A dispatch from the Colonial Office instructed the Governor to form a responsible executive by calling to his Council representatives who possessed the confidence of the people. But, misled by the apparent success of his policy, he declined to make these concessions, which would have satisfied all moderate Reformers. Thus the extreme wing, composed of the partizans of Mackenzie and Bidwell, became more and more exasperated, and prepared for the subsequent revolt.

The "Ten Resolutions" of Lord John Russell, founded 1837 on the report of Lord Gosford's commission, denied to Upper as well as Lower Canada the elective Council which the democratic party in both provinces regarded as a necessary guarantee of popular rights. The objection urged by Lord John and the English liberals to this concession was that an appointed legislative Council was the Canadian analogue of the English House of Lords, and was a necessary check to crude legislation by the Assembly. If the Executive Council were made responsible to the people like our own present ministries, it was also urged, the prerogative of the crown, represented by the colonial Governor, would be reduced to a cipher. This policy of repression was opposed in the Upper House by Lord Brougham, and the dangers against which it was supposed to guard have been shown, by the immeasurable superiority of our present system of responsible government, to have been entirely visionary.

Mackenzie, soured and disappointed, now joined hands with Papineau in the desperate scheme of revolt. By seditious articles in his paper, and by inflammatory speeches throughout the country, he incited his partizans to insurrection. Sir Francis Bond Head, with a chival-

ric confidence in the loyalty of the people, allowed Sir John Colborne to withdraw all the soldiers from Upper Canada to repress the menaced outbreak in the lower province. Emboldened by impunity and by the removal of the troops, the rebel faction armed and drilled with assiduity. The hot-bed of sedition was in the Home District, chiefly in the northern part. As no overt act could be proved against Mackenzie, the Governor, apparently unaware of the imminence of the danger, made no effort for his arrest nor for the prevention of the outbreak.

In the month of November, Mackenzie, Rolph, Morrison and other insurrectionary leaders, arranged at a secret conclave at Toronto the plan of operations. The rebels were to rendezvous, four thousand strong, on Yonge Street, near Toronto, on the night of December the seventh. They were then to march on the city, seize four thousand stand of arms deposited at the City Hall, and rally their sympathizers among the inhabitants. The Governor and his advisers being captured, a popular assembly was to be summoned and a republican constitution submitted for adoption. Still the Executive, incredulous of danger, disregarded several admonitions of the impending rising.

Through the precipitance of Dr. Rolph, who feared that the Government had detected the plot, the time for the attack was changed from the seventh to the fourth of December. On that date four hundred imperfectly armed insurgents assembled at Montgomery's tavern, four miles from Toronto. Mackenzie wished to make a sudden assault, which would probably have placed the city in his power, but it was decided to wait for reinforcements. Mackenzie and four others advanced toward the city to reconnoitre. They met and captured two mounted citizens, Messrs. Powell and Macdonald, who were patrolling the road. These, shooting one of their guards, escaped and gave the alarm. Mackenzie's prisoner placed the muzzle of his pistol close to the heart of his captor, but a flash in the pan saved the life of the insurrectionary leader. The Governor was roused from bed and his family placed for safety on a steamboat in the harbour. The alarm bells rang. Loyal volunteers,

among whom were the four judges, hastened to guard the arms in the City Hall. Pickets were posted, and the city put in a state of defence against a surprise.

Colonel Moodie, a retired half-pay officer, living on the great northern road leading from Toronto, had seen an insurgent detachment proceeding toward the city. Mounting his horse, he hastened to apprise the authorities of the rising. At the rebel rendezvous he was stopped by a strong guard. Rashly firing his pistol, he was immediately shot by one of the insurgents, and died in a couple of hours. On both sides blood had now been shed, and a bitter civil strife seemed pending.

The next day the rebels had increased to eight hundred. The Governor, to gain time, sent Robert Baldwin and Dr. Rolph, who had hitherto concealed his treason, with a flag of truce to inquire their demands. The answer was "Independence;" and a written answer was required within an hour. Dr. Rolph, it is said, secretly advised them to wait till dark, and promised them the aid of six hundred sympathizers in Toronto. Under cover of night they approached the city, but were fired on by a loyalist picket, concealed behind a fence, and one of their number killed and two wounded. After firing a volley, the front rank of the rebels fell on their faces, in order to allow the rear files to discharge their pieces. The latter, thinking their comrades all killed or wounded, turned and fled headlong. Mackenzie in vain attempted to rally the flying mob. They refused to renew the attack, and most of them threw away their weapons—the evidences of their crime—and hastened to seek safety at their homes.

Although during the night reinforcements arrived, on the following day Mackenzie could muster only five hundred men. Dr. Rolph and others implicated in the revolt fled to the United States. The loyal militia throughout the country, clad in frieze, and armed with old flint locks, pikes, and even pitchforks, hastened to the capital for its defence. Colonel McNab, at Hamilton, on hearing of the revolt, seized a steamboat lying at the wharf, and in three hours it was under weigh, crowded with the gallant men of Gore.

Van Egmond, who had been a colonel in the French army during the wars of Napoleon, now took military

command of the rebels. On the morning of the seventh, with sixty men, he fired the Don bridge, and captured the Montreal mail. About noon, Colonel McNab, with nine hundred men and two field-pieces, advanced against the rebels, who to the number of four hundred were posted in partial cover of a wood at Montgomery's tavern, or Gallows Hill, as it was called. The loyalists opened a sharp fire of musketry and artillery, and then charged with the bayonet. After a short resistance the insurgents fled, leaving behind thirty-six killed and fourteen wounded. Of the loyalists only three were wounded. The tavern and the house of Gibson, one of the insurgent leaders, were given to the flames. Mackenzie, an outlawed fugitive, with a reward of £1,000 on his head, skulked through the wintry woods, and after many hair-breadth escapes, got across the frontier into the United States. In a week the rebellion was crushed, and the muster of ten thousand gallant militiamen—Reformers and Conservatives alike—who had rallied amid frost and snow, demonstrated the unshaken loyalty of the people to the British crown.

Shortly after, an attempted rising in the London district, under Dr. Duncombe, a political disciple of Mackenzie, was promptly suppressed by the loyal militia under Colonel McNab, and the leader fled over the border.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE "PATRIOT" WAR.

1837. American "Hunters' Lodges" organized.
Border ruffians SEIZE NAVY ISLAND, December 13th.
Mackenzie proclaims "THE REPUBLIC OF UPPER CANADA."
Colonel McNab guards the Niagara Frontier.
Capture and destruction of the *Caroline*, December 28th—International complications.
1838. "Patriot" attack on Amherstburg repulsed.
"Bill Johnston" at Hickory Island.
Detroit invasion repulsed.
Attack on Point Pelé repulsed.
Sir Francis Bond Head recalled—Succeeded by Sir George Arthur.
Sir George adopts a stern coercive policy—Executions and transportations.
- RAVAGES OF "BILL JOHNSTON" and border ruffians.
VON SCHULTZ seizes Stone Mill, at Prescott, November 11th.
BATTLE OF WINDMILL POINT, November 16th—The rebels routed and leaders hanged.
Attack on Windsor—The "Patriots" repulsed—Ignominious close of a banditti war, December 4th.

THE rebel leaders ought now to have seen the hopelessness of their revolt. Their subsequent military organization and wanton invasion of the province were utterly without palliation or excuse. The American government was guilty of grave dereliction of duty in permitting its frontier to be made a base of hostile operations against an unoffending neighbour. Secret societies, known as "Hunters' Lodges," were organized in many of the American border towns for the purpose of aiding the Canadian rebellion. Among their members were a number of Canadian refugees, but the greater part were American citizens. Mackenzie, Rolph, and other insurgent leaders, organized an "Executive Committee" at Buffalo, for the purpose of directing the invasion of Upper Canada. They offered a reward of £500 for the capture of Sir Francis Bond Head, and generous prizes of land to all volunteers for the "Grand Army of Liberation."

On the thirteenth of December, a mob, described by a Buffalo paper as "a wretched rabble, ready to cut any

man's throat for a dollar," under the command of a border ruffian named Van Rensselaer, took possession of Navy Island, about two miles above the Falls of Niagara. Here Mackenzie proclaimed the "Republic of Upper Canada," and invited recruits. Few Canadians joined his standard, but about a thousand American frontier vagabonds, intent on plunder, collected together. They were supplied with artillery and stores taken from the United States arsenal. They threw up entrenchments of logs, mounting thirteen guns, and opened fire on the Canadian shore.

Colonel McNab, appointed to the military command of the frontier, soon found himself at the head of twenty-five hundred men—militia, Grand River Indians, and a company of coloured volunteers. An American steamer, the *Caroline*, was actively engaged in transporting men and stores to Navy Island. Colonel McNab, after remonstrance with the American authorities, resolved on her capture. On the night of December the twenty-eighth, Lieutenant Drew, with a boat party, gallantly cut her out from under the guns of Fort Schlosser. Unable, from the strength of the current, to tow her across the river, he ordered her to be fired and abandoned in the rapids. She glided swiftly down the stream and swept grandly over the cataract. In this affair five of the "patriots" were killed and several wounded. The capture of the *Caroline* was strongly denounced by the United States authorities, and it seemed for a time as if it would embroil the two nations in war. It was certainly extenuated, however, by the strong provocation received, and was subsequently apologized for by the British Government. The winter proved exceedingly mild. Navigation continued open till the middle of January. Sir John Colborne reinforced the Upper
1838 Canadian frontier, and compelled the evacuation of Navy Island, January fourteenth.

Early in January, a force of several hundred men, from Cleveland and Detroit, well equipped with United States muskets and artillery, made a demonstration against Sandwich and Amherstburg. They rendezvoused at Bois Blanc Island, and their commander issued a gasconading proclamation calling on the Canadians to

rally around the standard of liberty, and free themselves from the British parasites who were consuming their substance. The loyal militia showed their appreciation of this gratuitous advice by spontaneously gathering, to the number of nearly four thousand, for the protection of the frontier. Two schooners of the invading flotilla, laden with arms, which opened fire with round shot and grape upon the peaceful town of Amherstburg, were gallantly captured and the insolent pirate expedition defeated.

Although the loyalty of the Canadians had been so amply demonstrated, yet the rebel refugees and border ruffians continued their wanton outrages all along the frontier. In utter defiance of international comity, simultaneous attacks on Canada were organized at Detroit, Sandusky, Watertown, and in Vermont. The last has already been described in the account of the Lower Canadian rebellion. The Watertown expedition, under Van Rensselaer and "Bill Johnston," two notorious scoundrels, rendezvoused to the number of some two thousand, on the twenty-fourth of February, at Hickory Island, a short distance below Kingston. The jealousy and quarrels of the commanders, and the vigilance and energy of the Canadians, frustrated the designs of the marauders.

The expedition from Detroit, about the same date, was repulsed by a vigorous artillery fire, and disarmed by the American authorities, who at length began to repress this border filibustering.

On the fourth of March, five hundred "patriot" scoundrels took possession of Point Pelé Island, on Lake Erie, about forty miles from Amherstburg and twenty from the mainland. A force of regulars and Canadian militia crossing on the ice dislodged and drove them to the American shore, with the loss of thirteen killed, forty wounded, and several prisoners. Two of the British were killed and twenty-eight wounded.

The administration of Sir Francis Bond Head being attended by such disastrous circumstances, he was recalled by the Home Government. He was at once an object of admiration and aversion to opposite political parties. He is accused of intensifying grievances when he might have

redressed them, and of trifling with the rebellion when he might have prevented it. On his return to England he published a narrative of the stormy events of his administration, which by his friends was considered an exoneration, and by his enemies an aggravation of his acts. He subsequently devoted himself to literature, in which he was remarkably successful, and died in the year 1875, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

Sir George Arthur, the new Governor, adopted the coercive policy of his predecessor. He was promoted from the government of the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land. He ruled with a firm and heavy hand, having little sympathy for the now accepted theory of responsible government. The jails of the province were crowded with political prisoners, for whose pardon numerous petitions were presented to the Governor. His reply was a sharp rebuke. Reform, he said, had been the cloak of their crimes, and they should have an impartial trial—no more. Two of the leaders, Lount and Matthews, were hanged at Toronto, amid the regret of many loyal subjects.

Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, now humanely and wisely interposed his influence to prevent the needless effusion of blood. Many persons condemned to death had their sentence commuted to imprisonment in the provincial penitentiary, or to transportation to Van Diemen's Land, and the less culpable ones were released on giving bonds for their future good conduct. Many, however, who were suspected of sympathy with the rebellion, fled from the country.

The American "Hunters' Lodges," which numbered, it is said, nearly twelve hundred, with a membership of eighty thousand, still kept up the hostile agitation. The affair of the *Caroline*, and the disputes concerning the boundary between New Brunswick and Maine, continued to menace the relations of the two countries. Sir John Colborne had all the frontier forts repaired and garrisoned with troops sent out from England, and the militia were put in a state of thorough efficiency.

During the summer several raids were made from over the border. On the night of May twenty-eighth, the notorious "Bill Johnston," with half a hundred fellow-

ruffians, boarded the steamer *Sir Robert Peel*, at Well's Island, on the St. Lawrence. The passengers were driven ashore in a stormy night, and the steamer, one of the finest on the river, was pillaged and set on fire. Johnston and his gang eluded pursuit amid the labyrinth of the Thousand Islands, and on the seventh of June landed on Amherst Island, near Kingston, and plundered three farm houses. A company of British soldiers and sailors scoured the Thousand Islands, and dispersed the pirate crew. Other marauding parties crossed the Niagara frontier and plundered the inhabitants. Thirty of them were driven into a swamp and captured, and their leader was hanged. Similar bands of ruffian "liberators" appeared at Goderich and in the London district, but were repulsed by the loyal population.

In the month of November another attempt was made at a simultaneous invasion of the country at different points of the frontier. In Lower Canada, as we have seen, Dr. Robert Nelson was repulsed with heavy loss at Odelltown (November fifth). On the tenth of the month a body of "patriots" embarked at Oswego in a large steamer and two schooners. Their object was to obtain possession of Fort Wellington at Prescott. Sailing down the St. Lawrence they were gallantly attacked on Sunday the eleventh by the *Experiment*, a small two-gun British steamer. An injury to her guns enabled the ruffians to land a force of two hundred and fifty men, under Von Schultz, a Polish refugee, at Windmill Point, beyond the range of the guns of Fort Wellington. The windmill, a circular stone building of immense strength, flanked by several stone dwelling-houses, offered a very formidable defence. The following day the invaders were reënforced from Ogdensburg, just across the river; but they were completely disappointed in their expectation of being joined by disaffected Canadians. The loyal militia swarmed in from the surrounding country to repel the aggressors.

On Tuesday morning a force of four hundred and eighty men, under Colonel Young of the regular army, advanced to disarm the invading brigands. Two armed steamers, the *Victoria* and *Cobourg*, patrolled the river, and prevented the arrival of reënforcements or the escape

of the enemy. Driven from post to post with severe loss, the invaders took shelter in the windmill and adjacent buildings. The American shore was crowded with spectators, who loudly cheered every supposed advantage of their friends. The guns of the steamers proving powerless against the thick stone walls, the besiegers had to await the arrival of artillery from Kingston. Meanwhile the "patriots" remained for three days ingloriously hemmed in, unable to escape. On the sixteenth a body of regulars and Royal Artillery arrived, and briskly bombarded the invaders in their stronghold. The latter soon surrendered at discretion to the number of one hundred and thirty. The number killed was about fifty, but many of the dead were burned in the buildings. The loss of the Canadians was thirteen killed and a large number wounded. Von Schultz and ten others of the brigands were subsequently executed at Kingston by sentence of court-martial; others were transported, but most of them were pardoned and released.

An attempt in the west to capture Amherstburg ended no less disastrously to the invaders. On the fourth of December a body of four hundred and fifty men crossed from Detroit, amid the cheers of the citizens, took possession of the small town of Windsor, burned a steamboat at the wharf, and advanced on Sandwich, two miles distant. On their march they murdered, with shocking barbarity, Dr. Hume, a surgeon of the regular army. Colonel Prince, with less than two hundred militia, attacked and routed the marauders with the loss of twenty-one of their number. He stained his victory, however, by shooting without trial four men who were taken prisoners. The "patriots" still occupied Windsor, and by a flank movement threatened the rear of Prince's command. The latter, therefore, retired on Sandwich and awaited reinforcements. These soon arrived, when he advanced again on the enemy, who now hastily recrossed the river. Crowds of American sympathizers who thronged the banks to witness their anticipated victory, were the spectators of their ignominious defeat. A considerable number of the invaders, unable to escape, took refuge in the woods on the Canadian shore, where nineteen of them were after-

wards found frozen to death. Three of the prisoners, after trial by court-martial, were executed at London.

Thus, in disaster and defeat, ended the utterly unwarrantable "patriot" war, waged for the most part by lawless American banditti upon a population loyal, with few exceptions, to their native or adopted country ; and even when desiring a reform in its institutions, seeking it only by constitutional means. The interruption of peaceful industry and the large military expenditure caused by these wanton invasions, greatly retarded the prosperity of the country ; and the criminal abetting of the outrage on Canadian territory by American citizens was the cause of much international ill-feeling and bitterness.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE UNION OF THE CANADAS.

Political Agitations in the Maritime Provinces.

1837. CROWN LAND GRIEVANCES in New Brunswick—Redressed by the crown.
A "Family Compact" in Nova Scotia.

JOSEPH HOWE a popular tribune—Struggle for Responsible Government.

1839. The BOUNDARY DISPUTE in New Brunswick.
Threatened outbreak on Maine frontier—Loyal enthusiasm in Maritime Provinces.

1842. The ASHBURTON TREATY settles boundaries and provides for EXTRADITION OF CRIMINALS.

1839. Beneficial effect of Lord Durham's Report on the condition of the Canadas.

Public debt and military strength of Upper Canada.

Hon. Charles Poulett Thompson, Governor-General.

He urges the policy of the Home Government for the Union of the Canadas.

1840. The UNION BILL PASSES COLONIAL AND IMPERIAL PARLIAMENTS.

PROVISIONS OF THE UNION ACT—RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT GRANTED.

Mr. Thompson is raised to the Peerage as Lord Sydenham of Kent and Toronto.

Solicitor-General Draper's Bill to settle the CLERGY RESERVE question fails to do so.

Brock's Monument blown up—Patriotic enthusiasm.

McLeod's trial threatens rupture of peace with United States.

THE maritime provinces, concurrently with the rebellion in the Canadas, were agitated by a good deal of political excitement. The general causes of discontent were similar, but they did not lead to any of the acts of violence which unhappily took place in the western provinces. Both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were under the domination of an irresponsible Executive Council, which engrossed the public offices and administered the affairs of the colonies with slight regard to the authority of the elective assembly or to the wishes of the people. In the latter province, the crown land department, which favoured the great capitalists and lumber operators, to the disadvantage of the poorer classes, furnished sufficient revenue to defray the entire civil list. The Assembly, which was thus deprived of any

means of control over the administration, petitioned the King for a redress of its grievances. Mr. Lemuel Allen Wilmot, a popular and eloquent lawyer, although allied with the party in power, became the leading agent of 1836 reform, and was deputed to lay the petition before the throne. The King favoured the prayer of the Assembly. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, urged upon the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, and the Executive Council the surrender of the casual and territorial revenue in consideration of the granting by the Assembly of a liberal permanent civil list. Notwithstanding continued and strenuous opposition, the Government was obliged to yield, and the immense crown land revenue came under the control of the people's representatives. Under the wise conciliation of the new 1837 Governor, Sir John Harvey, harmony was at length restored between all the branches of the legislature.

In Nova Scotia, the Executive Council, at whose board sat the Bishop, the Chief Justice, and a "Family Compact" of allied members, met in secret conclave and set at defiance the interests and rights of the people. Joseph Howe, the son of a U. E. Loyalist, became the champion of popular rights. A shrewd and vigorous journalist, and a ready and eloquent speaker, "Joe Howe," as he was familiarly called, wielded immense influence throughout the province. In his place in the Assembly, on the public rostrum, and through the columns of his journal, he thundered against the oligarchy that governed the province. The Assembly formulated the public grievances into twelve resolutions, which were embodied in an address to the King. The provisions of the liberalized constitution of New Brunswick were extended to Nova Scotia, and Joseph Howe and three Reformers were called to the Council. They accepted office subject to the approval of the Assembly, and shortly after proved their sincerity by resigning their seats in vindication of their demand for responsible government. A long and bitter agitation was yet to be undergone before the attainment of that much desired object. Sir Colin Campbell, the future hero of Alma, Balaclava, and Lucknow, who administered the govern-

ment during the greater part of this stormy period, was succeeded by Lord Falkland, whose high notions of vice-regal-prerogative were the occasion of much popular discontent.

The dispute as to the New Brunswick frontier was not yet settled. The King of the Netherlands, to whom the decision had been referred, had given the lion's share of the debatable ground to the United States. That country, however, refused to be bound by the award. Lawless persons invaded the disputed territory; armed collisions occurred; and the frontier settlements were ablaze with excitement. Governor Fairfield, of Maine, ordered eighteen hundred militia to the border, and called upon the state for ten thousand men—horse, foot, and artillery. Sir John Harvey, the Governor of New Brunswick, asserted by proclamation the right of Great Britain to protect the disputed territory, and sent two regiments to watch the Maine militia. Volunteers flocked to the British standard. The legislature of Nova Scotia, amid an unwonted scene of patriotic enthusiasm, and with an outburst of hearty British cheers, voted £100,000 for the defence of the frontier, and placed a strong force of militia at the disposal of the military authorities.

Considerable excitement was roused in the United States. That belligerent statesman, Daniel Webster, declared that the American government should seize the disputed property unless Great Britain would abide by the treaty of 1783. President Van Buren, however, with praiseworthy moderation, advocated the peaceable arrangement of the difficulty. General Winfield Scott was sent to the borders to settle the dispute. He countermanded all hostile demonstrations and opened a friendly correspondence with the British Governor, who had been an old antagonist at Stony Creek and Lundy's Lane.

Both parties now withdrew from the contest, and referred the matter to Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster, as commissioners for their respective countries. The award, given in 1842, yielded the larger and more valuable territory to the United States, to the intense chagrin of the colonists, who conceived that their rights

were sacrificed to Imperial interests. The Ashburton treaty also fixed the forty-fifth parallel as the dividing line of latitude westward from the disputed territory to the St. Lawrence, and the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulf of Georgia, on the Pacific. The central line of the great lakes and their connecting rivers completed the boundary. An important article of the treaty also provided for the extradition, from either country, upon sufficient evidence of criminality, of persons charged with "murder, piracy, arson, robbery, or forgery."

Lord Durham's report on the state of the Canadas had meanwhile been submitted to the Imperial parliament. Its wise and liberal suggestions greatly tended to the pacification of public feeling in the colonies. It urged the principle of the dependence of the executive upon the representatives of the people, and prepared the way for the establishment of responsible government. It proposed the union of the provinces in order to restore the balance of power between the French and English races, and to remove the commercial difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. In anticipation of subsequent political events, it suggested a federal union of all the colonies, and the construction of an intercolonial road as a link between them. Although bitterly attacked by the friends of the irresponsible colonial governments, this report greatly influenced the Home authorities, and encouraged the advocates of constitutional reform in the colonies.

Sir John Colborne, the successor of Lord Durham as Governor-General, had effectually suppressed the rebellion, and left the province in an efficient state of defence. On his return to England in 1839, he was for his distinguished services raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Seaton. The finances of Upper Canada, however, were considerably embarrassed, the expenditure of 1839 exceeding by £10,000 the income, which amounted to £80,000. Owing to the construction of the Welland Canal and other public works, the annual interest on the provincial debt amounted to £63,000. The organized militia of the upper province, at the close of the rebellion and "patriot" war, consisted of one hundred and six

regiments of infantry, with officers and staff complete, and a due proportion of cavalry and artillery. With a population of four hundred and fifty thousand, she could muster a citizen soldiery of forty thousand men, or nearly one-tenth of the inhabitants.

With the present population of Upper Canada of over one million one hundred and sixty-two thousand, the same proportion would yield a force of one hundred and forty-four thousand enrolled militia; or for the entire Dominion, with a population—according to the last census—of over three and a half million, a force available for defence of over three hundred thousand men. If our forefathers in the infancy of the country, with undeveloped resources, almost without roads, and with a scanty population, were able, almost unaided by Great Britain, to successfully withstand for three long years all the force that a populous and powerful neighbouring country was able to bring to bear, our present ability to resist any hostile attacks to which we are likely to be exposed cannot be reasonably doubted.

Sir John Colborne was succeeded as Governor-General by the Hon. Charles Poulett Thompson, a statesman of liberal opinions, of great tact and judgment, and, as President of the Board of Trade, of wide financial experience. The Home ministry had determined on the union of the two Canadas, and on the acknowledgment in the new constitution of the principle of responsible government. There was a considerable section in either province to which both of these projects were obnoxious. The task of the new Governor, therefore, was one requiring the exercise of consummate skill and prudence. On his arrival at Montreal he convened a special council, explained the views of the Imperial Government, and obtained the assent of the council to the draft of a bill for uniting the provinces, to be introduced into the legislature.

In Upper Canada, Mr. Thompson had great difficulty in procuring the assent to the measure of the Legislative Council, the majority of whose members clung tenaciously to the privileges which the new constitution would cause them to forfeit. The pointed dispatches of Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary, expressing Her Majesty's

pleasure, placed the opposition to the union in such a light, that the hostile majority were compelled by their profession of loyalty to the crown to support the obnoxious scheme. The Union Bill was therefore introduced as a Government measure, and after prolonged debate on its several provisions, obtained a majority of both Houses. The action of the Imperial parliament was yet necessary to give effect to the union. A draft of a bill; based upon the resolutions of the legislatures of the two provinces, was drawn up by Sir James Stuart, Chief Justice of Lower Canada, and submitted to the Home Government. This passed the Imperial parliament with slight modifications, and received the royal assent, July twenty-third, 1840. Owing to a suspending clause, it did not take effect till the tenth of February, 1841, when it was declared in force by proclamation.

The Act of Union provided that there should be one Legislative Council and one Legislative Assembly, in which each province should be equally represented. The Legislative Council must be composed of not less than twenty life members, appointed by the crown. The Assembly was to consist of eighty-four members, elected by the people. An Executive Council was to be formed of eight members, any of whom who held seats in the Assembly must go back to the people for re-election. The Executive Council, like a constitutional ministry, should hold office so long as its measures commanded a majority of votes in the Legislative Assembly. A permanent civil list of £75,000 annually was established in lieu of all territorial and other revenues previously held by the crown. Previous to the union, private members were allowed to introduce bills involving the expenditure of public moneys, and thus, from the lack of responsibility, reckless and ill-considered expenditure was permitted. By the Union Act, the initiation of such bills was vested in the Government, which must bear the responsibility of the measure: but it must command the support of a majority of the Legislature. Thus the great object of years of contention was secured—the control by the representatives of the people of all the public revenues. The judiciary were, by a permanent civil list, made independent of the annual votes of the Assembly.

In token of appreciation of his success in carrying out the Imperial policy of union of the Canadas, the Queen was pleased to raise Mr. Thompson to the peerage, with the title of Lord Sydenham of Kent and Toronto. During the summer he made an extensive tour of the provinces, to familiarize himself with their extent, resources, and political necessities. He was everywhere received with loyal demonstrations, and by his distinguished abilities and courtesy of manner, won golden opinions even where he had previously, through political feeling, been unpopular.

The most pressing grievance in Upper Canada, after the settlement of the union question, was that of the clergy reserves. A bill was therefore introduced by Solicitor-General Draper authorizing the sale of those reserves, one-half the proceeds—after the indemnification of the Anglican clergy, to whom it was considered that the faith of the crown was pledged—to be given to the dissenting bodies, and the other half to be divided between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, in proportion to their respective numbers. The bill, however, was considered unsatisfactory by the Reform party, and the question continued to be for some years a cause of frequent agitation.

1840 In the following April, a dastardly attempt was made by some unknown ruffians to blow up with gunpowder the monument erected by a grateful country to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock, on the scene of his heroic death. An enthusiastic meeting of five thousand Canadian patriots was held beneath the shattered column on the thirtieth of June, at which Sir George Arthur presided. A munificent subscription was started for the erection of a worthy memorial; and after many delays, the noble monument which now crowns the historic Queenston Heights rose to perpetuate the name and fame of Canada's heroic defender, who for her sake had laid down his life.

Towards the close of the year, a person of the name of McLeod, who had been Deputy Sheriff of the Niagara district, was imprisoned by the United States authorities on account of his alleged share in the destruction of the *Caroline* during the rebellion. The Home Government

determined to protect his rights as a British subject, and demanded his surrender. It was refused, and the difficulty threatened for a time to embroil the two countries in war. He was, however, acquitted, although by a court which had no jurisdiction, and with his release the warlike excitement immediately subsided.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

1841. INAUGURATION OF NEW CONSTITUTION—Kingston becomes the Seat of Government.
Adoption of the "Double Majority" Principle—Municipal System Established.
Organization of Public Works Department.
Death of Lord Sydenham.
1842. Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-General.
The Baldwin-Hincks Administration.
1843. Death of Sir Charles Bagot—Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor-General—His irresponsible employment of patronage.
CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE—Resignation of Baldwin-Hincks Government and formation of the Draper Ministry.
1844. Montreal becomes the Seat of Government.
1845. Quebec ravaged by fire—Generous exhibition of sympathy.
Death of Lord Metcalfe—Earl of Cathcart, Administrator of Government.
1846. REBELLION LOSSES AGITATION in Upper and Lower Canada.
Reorganization of Public School System.
Life and Labours of the Rev. Dr. Ryerson.

WITH the formal proclamation of the union of the two provinces, February tenth, 1841, the administration of the government of Upper Canada by Sir George Arthur terminated, and Lord Sydenham assumed the vice-royalty of the united provinces. A new Executive Council was appointed,* and a new parliament was summoned. The elections were attended with considerable excitement, which was all the greater on account of the imperfect facilities for recording the votes. The polling places were few, and the crowding and obstruction by the more turbulent members of the opposed political parties seriously interfered with the free exercise of the franchise.

When the legislature assembled in the city of Kingston, which had been selected as the new seat of government, it was found that parties were very evenly balanced. The Reformers, however, were able to elect

* It was composed of Messrs. Sullivan (President), Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin, and Day, who all held public offices apart from their position as councillors.

as Speaker, Mr. Cuvillier, a Lower Canadian member of their party. The French members, numbering twenty-four in all, held the balance of power, and were able for a long series of years, by their compact vote, to turn the scale in favour of which ever party could best promote French interests.

To counteract this dominant influence, the principle of "double majority," as it was called, was introduced. This required not merely a majority of the whole House for the support of the Government, but also a majority of the representatives of each province separately. The application of this principle, while often a safeguard against sectional domination, frequently led to sectional jealousy, and sometimes to the retarding of needful legislation.

The new parliament gave effect to several important measures. The Welland Canal, which had been carried on as a private joint-stock enterprise, was formally assumed by the Government. The municipal system was reconstructed in accordance with its present excellent constitution. The administration of local affairs was transferred from the Quarter Sessions to town and county councils, elected by popular vote. The people thus obtained the direct control of the local assessment and expenditure—as effectual a guarantee as can be found of economy and efficiency of municipal administration. The public works of the united provinces were also placed under the administration of a government department, at whose head was a responsible minister of the crown. The extensive works in progress were stimulated to completion by a loan of £1,500,000, guaranteed by the Imperial Government. Provision was also made by this parliament for postal, customs, fiscal, and educational progress and reform. Lord Sydenham exhibited his political wisdom by endeavouring, although not always with success, to remove the traces of the recent dissensions. The old members of the Legislative Council did not readily blend with those who had been newly appointed: some delayed to be sworn in, and some declined to sit at all.

But this distinguished benefactor of Canada was not permitted to witness the full result of his labours, nor

the triumph of that system of responsible government which he had assisted in introducing. While out riding, the fall of his horse fractured his leg. His constitution, never robust, and now undermined by his zeal in the discharge of public duty, was unable to withstand the shock. After lingering in great pain a few days, he sank beneath his injuries, September nineteenth, 1841. He was buried, by his own request, in the land to whose welfare he devoted the last energies of his life. No columned monument perpetuates his memory ; but the constitutional privileges which we to-day enjoy, and the peace and prosperity which resulted from the union of the Canadas, which he laboured so strenuously to bring about, constitute an imperishable claim upon our esteem and gratitude.

By the dying request of Lord Sydenham, Major-General Clitheroe prorogued the parliament, and Sir Richard Jackson, the commander of Her Majesty's forces, administered the government till the appointment of his successor. The Conservative ministry of Sir Robert Peel had succeeded the Melbourne administration. The new Governor-General, Sir Charles Bagot, who arrived January tenth, 1842, represented the opposite school of politics to that of his predecessor. The opponents of the new constitution anticipated a probable return to the old *régime* of irresponsible government. Lord Stanley, the new colonial minister, however, adopted the policy inaugurated by Lord John Russell ; and Sir Charles Bagot impartially carried out his instructions. He recognized the important constitutional principle that the parliamentary majority should control the administration.

In accordance with this theory, certain changes of ministry took place. Mr. Baldwin received the Attorney-Generalship for Canada West, in place of Mr. Draper, resigned. Mr. Sherwood gave place to Mr. Aylwin, as Solicitor-General. Mr. Hincks became Inspector-General of Public Accounts ; Mr. Lafontaine, Attorney-General for Canada East ; and Mr. Morin, Commissioner of Crown Lands. The new ministers adopted the wholesome English precedent of returning to their constituencies for reelection on the assumption of office. In

a House of eighty-four members they commanded a majority of thirty-six.

Mr. Hincks, the new Inspector-General, was a man of distinguished ability and energy. His father was a minister of the Irish Presbyterian Church, of great worth and learning. An elder brother for many years ably occupied a professorial chair in the University of Cork, and subsequently in the Toronto University. Francis Hincks, the youngest son, was educated to mercantile life. He came to Toronto in 1832, and became cashier of a new banking institution. In 1838, he established the *Examiner* newspaper, in the Reform interest, and achieved marked success as a journalist. He was subsequently returned to parliament as a representative of the county of Oxford. On his acceptance of office, he was reëlected by a largely increased majority. He was destined, as we shall see, to play a prominent part in Canadian politics.

The second session of the first union-parliament lasted only six weeks, but it passed through their several stages no less than thirty Acts. Liberal votes of supply received the assent of the Assembly, which asserted the constitutional principle that a detailed account of their expenditure should be submitted to parliament within fourteen days of the opening of the following session.

Sir Charles Bagot, like his predecessor, was not long permitted to discharge his official duties, nor to return to his native land. A serious illness compelled him to request his recall, but before it was granted he became unable to leave the country. He died at Kingston, greatly regretted, sixteen months after his arrival, May nineteenth, 1843.

Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, the new Governor-General of Canada, had risen, by the sheer force of his energy and talent, from the position of a writer in the East India civil service to that of Acting Governor-General of India. This post he held for two years (1834-36), and afterwards, for three years (1839-42), that of Governor of Jamaica. His administrative experience in these countries, where the prerogatives of the crown were unquestioned, was no special qualification for the constitutional government of a free country like

Canada. The right of patronage and of appointment to office he conceived was vested in himself as representative of the crown, for the exercise of which he considered himself responsible only to the Imperial parliament.

This principle was incompatible with the colonial theory of responsible government; and the appointment of certain members of the Conservative party to official position, without the advice or consent of his ministers, was the ground of grave dissatisfaction. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine protested against what they considered an unconstitutional proceeding. They were held responsible by the Assembly for the acts of the Government, and had entered the ministry with the resolve to hold office only while they could command a parliamentary majority. Sir Charles declined to degrade what he considered the prerogative of the crown, or to give up his right of patronage. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine thereupon resigned their seats in the cabinet. This constitutional struggle created great excitement throughout the country. Party lines were sharply defined, and Conservatives and Reformers were again placed in strong political antagonism.

With a Reform majority in the Assembly, the Conservative leaders were unwilling to enter the Government. A provisional ministry, under the leadership of Mr. Draper, was however formed, which resolved to appeal to the country by a dissolution of the House and a new election.

The removal of the seat of government to Montreal having been previously determined by a vote of the legislature, with the opening of navigation the transfer
1844 of the departmental offices and Governor's residence took place. In November the new parliament assembled, and was found to contain a small Conservative majority. Sir Allan McNab, an acknowledged leader of the Conservative party, was chosen Speaker. Mr. Baldwin was the leader of a vigorous Reform Opposition, nearly as numerous as the supporters of the Government. For his distinguished services in the East and West Indies, and in approval of his colonial policy, the Governor-General was raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Metcalfe.

Twice, with the interval of a month, in the following
1845 spring, the city of Quebec was ravaged by fire. Twenty-four thousand persons were rendered houseless, and several lives were lost. A spontaneous outburst of charity relieved the more pressing necessities of the sufferers. Half a million of dollars was contributed by sympathizers in Great Britain, and nearly half as much in Canada and the United States. The American people promptly and generously sent a shipload of provisions and clothing to the foodless and shelterless multitude—an act of international charity that should be remembered when the record of international strife and bloodshed shall be forgotten.

The aggravation of a terrible malady, from which Lord Metcalfe had previously suffered—a cancer in the face—caused him to request his recall. He returned to England in November, and shortly after his arrival died, greatly regretted. His munificent liberality and many personal virtues commanded the respect even of those who condemned his political acts.

The Earl of Cathcart, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in Canada, was appointed administrator of the government on the resignation of Lord Metcalfe. He observed a wise neutrality between the almost evenly balanced political parties. The discussion of the Rebellion Losses Bill began to profoundly agitate the country. The Draper ministry had recommended the indemnification of Upper Canadian loyalists who had incurred losses during the recent political troubles. A special fund, arising from tavern and other licenses, was set apart for that purpose, to the amount of £40,000. The French-Canadian party supported the measure, on the understanding that similar provision should be made for the indemnity of the loyal population of Lower Canada. Six commissioners were appointed to investigate their losses, and report to the legislature. The commissioners being unauthorized to examine persons or papers, based their report solely upon the sentences of the courts of law. As the loyalty of all persons was assumed unless they had been legally convicted, the number of claimants reported to parliament was over two thousand, and the aggregate amount of the claims was nearly £250,000.

The commissioners, however, considered that £100,000 would meet the actual losses of loyal persons.

The manifest difficulty of adjudicating these claims made the report a very unsatisfactory basis of legislation; but the Draper ministry, dependent largely on 1846 French-Canadian support, introduced a bill empowering the issue of debentures to the amount of £9,986, for the indemnification of loyal persons in Lower Canada. This measure proved satisfactory to neither party. The French-Canadians considered it so meagre as to be almost an insult; and the Upper Canadian loyalists deprecated the giving of any compensation to men whom they regarded as having been almost without exception rebels.

The subject of public school education had from time to time received legislative attention. In 1816, as we have seen, an Act was passed by the parliament of Upper Canada for the establishment of common schools. These were subsequently increased in number with the growth of the population, and assisted by grants from the public funds. They were as yet, however, very insufficient in number and defective in character. In 1846, the important duty of reorganizing the common school system of Upper Canada was entrusted to a gentleman eminently qualified for the task, who has identified his name for ever with the history of popular education in his native province.

The Rev. Egerton Ryerson, LL.D., was the son of a United Empire loyalist, who bore a colonel's commission under King George III. during the American Revolutionary War. Egerton was the youngest of three brothers, who all, by their force of character, rose to eminence in the ministry of the Methodist Church, which they entered at a time when its ministers and members suffered from serious civil disabilities which have long since been removed. In the prolonged controversy for the disestablishment of the Church of England in Canada, and for the secularization of the clergy reserves, Egerton Ryerson bore an active part. In a series of published papers and pamphlets he contended for those principles of civil and religious liberty which are now happily recognized. When, in 1829, the Methodist denomination established

a religious weekly journal, the *Christian Guardian*, he was appointed the first editor, to which office he was twice reappointed, and which he held for the period of nine years. Through his persistent advocacy it largely was that the Methodist Church acquired the right of holding ecclesiastical property, and its ministers the right of solemnizing matrimony.

After holding for some time the office of President of the University of Victoria College, he received the appointment of Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. For more than thirty years he continued to devote his energies to the development of the school system of the country, crossing the ocean many times in order to examine the educational systems of Europe, and incorporating their best features in that of his native province. In this work he has been assisted by the coöperation of a Council of Public Instruction, composed of the leading educationists of the country. Under the fostering influence of the wise and liberal legislation of successive parliaments, the public school system of Upper Canada has become one of the noblest of our institutions, the admiration of travellers from older lands, and one of the surest guarantees of our future national prosperity.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REBELLION LOSSES AGITATION.

- 1847.** Lord Elgin, Governor-General.
Postal control and differential duties ceded by Imperial Government.
Irish famine and vast emigration to Canada.
- 1848.** The Draper Administration resigns, and is succeeded by the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry.
- 1849.** LOWER CANADIAN REBELLION LOSSES BILL introduced—It is violently opposed.
The British North American League formed—It threatens a rupture of the Union.
Lord Elgin gives his assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill—He is assailed by violence, and THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS ATTACKED AND BURNED BY A MOB, July 26th.
The Premier's House is wrecked.
Tumultuary demand for the disallowance of the Bill.
Rioting suppressed by the military—The seat of Government transferred to Toronto and Quebec alternately.
The Bill sustained by the Imperial Parliament.

IN the year 1847, while the settlement of the rebellion losses was still pending, Lord Elgin was appointed Governor-General of Canada. He was a son-in-law of the Earl of Durham, and shared his liberal sentiments regarding colonial administration. He had succeeded Lord Metcalfe in the government of Jamaica, as well as in that of Canada. His sound judgment, conciliatory manners, and commanding ability, enabled him to overcome formidable opposition, and to become one of the most honoured representatives of Her Majesty that ever administered the affairs of the province.

The Draper ministry was waning in popularity and influence, and was narrowly watched by a vigilant Reform press, of which the leading journal was the *Montreal Pilot*, ably edited by Mr. Hincks. The Rebellion Losses Bill, and the secularization of the clergy reserves, the latter of which especially was strongly advocated by the Reform party, were prominent topics of public discussion.

On the meeting of parliament on the second of June, Lord Elgin announced the surrender by the Imperial

Government to the colonial authorities of the post office department, and also that the provincial legislature was empowered to repeal the differential duties subsisting in favour of British manufactures—an important measure of fiscal emancipation. The long-talked-of intercolonial railway, which has only this year (1876) reached completion, was also the subject of a paragraph in the speech from the throne. After a short but busy session, during which no less than one hundred and ten bills were passed, the legislature rose on the twenty-eighth of July.

The season was characterized by an unprecedented immigration from Ireland. In consequence of the failure of the potato crop through rot, a famine well nigh decimated that land. An exodus of a large portion of its population took place, seventy thousand of whom reached Quebec before the seventh of August this year. Every possible provision was made by public and private charity for the relief of their necessities, but multitudes died from exposure and fever. Immigrant sheds and hospitals, erected by the Government, were crowded to overflowing, and many slept in the open air by the roadsides, or beneath rude blanket tents. A relief fund was established on behalf of the famine-stricken sufferers who still remained in Ireland, to which all classes liberally contributed, even the Indian tribes on their reserves and the poor coloured people of the province, many of whom had not long escaped from bondage.

The parliament was dissolved on the sixth of December, 1848, and the elections were held during the following January. The political contest was waged with great zeal by both parties, and resulted in a large Reform majority. Messrs. Baldwin, Price, and Blake were elected for the three ridings of York, Francis Hincks for Oxford, and Malcolm Cameron for Kent. Papineau, the arch agitator of the Lower Canadian rebellion, who had accepted the Queen's pardon, was returned for St. Maurice, and Dr. Wolfred Nelson for the county of Richelieu, the scene of his armed revolt, which he had lived to sincerely regret.

On the opening of parliament, February twenty-fifth, the Draper ministry resigned, and Messrs. Baldwin and

Lafontaine were entrusted with the task of forming a Liberal cabinet. The new ministry was composed of four French and four British members—Messrs. Lafontaine, Caron, Viger, and Taché; and Messrs. Baldwin, Hincks, Cameron, and Blake. This was a full and final constitutional recognition of the principle of responsible government.

The country was thrilled with horror by the atrocities of the three days' slaughter in the French capital during the Revolution of 1848. Some sympathy was felt with the incipient Irish rebellion incited by John Mitchell and Smith O'Brien. This, however, soon disappeared on the prompt and bloodless suppression of the revolt by the policemen of Ballingary.

The Imperial Navigation Laws were repealed, and Canadian commerce emancipated from the "differential duties" by which it had been fettered. The completion of the St. Lawrence canals furnished great facilities for internal traffic, of which the commercial classes were not slow in taking advantage.

One of the earliest acts of the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, on the meeting of Parliament, January eighteenth, 1849, was the introduction of the "Rebellion Losses Bill." It authorized the raising of £100,000 by debentures for indemnifying those persons in Lower Canada whose property had been destroyed by the rebels in the unhappy events of 1837, and for whom no provision had been made in the bill of 1846, introduced by the Draper ministry.

The measure was vehemently denounced by the Opposition, as being actually a premium to rebellion, as parties who had been implicated in the revolt might, under its provisions, receive compensation for losses sustained. It was also contended that it was an injustice to Upper Canada to charge this payment on the consolidated fund of the country, inasmuch as the upper province contributed her own proportion to that fund, and would thus in part be discharging an obligation belonging exclusively to Lower Canada.

It was answered in reply to the first objection, that all persons convicted of participating in the rebellion were definitely excluded from the provisions of the Act;

and in reply to the second, that the Upper Canadian rebellion losses had also been defrayed out of the same consolidated fund by the late administration, whose policy the present Government was only carrying out.

But these arguments availed not. "No pay to rebels" was the popular cry. The excitement became intense, and even led to a disaffection akin to that which was so vehemently denounced. A British North American League was formed for the express purpose of breaking up the union. To escape from French domination, as it was called, a confederation with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was proposed, failing which, the leaders of the League avowed their purpose of throwing themselves into the arms of the United States—rash words, which became the occasion of the taunt of disloyalty from their opponents.

The ministry, however, sustained by a strong majority in both Houses, determined to face the storm; and the passage of the bill was made the condition by the French members of their support of the Government. By a vote of forty-eight to thirty-two, it passed the Assembly, and soon received the assent of the Legislative Council. The intelligence of this vote caused intense excitement throughout the country. In Toronto, Messrs. Baldwin, Blake, and Mackenzie, the last mentioned of whom had just returned to the country a pardoned refugee, were burned in effigy. The house where Mackenzie lodged, and those of Dr. Rolph and George Brown, were attacked and damaged.

It was thought that Lord Elgin, intimidated by the violent opposition manifested, would not venture to give his assent to the bill, but would either veto it or reserve it for the consideration of the Home Government. This latter course would probably have been the better, as allowing time for the popular excitement to become allayed. But however violent the minority opposed to the bill, however high and influential their position, the ministry by which it was proposed commanded the majority of both branches of the legislature and the confidence of the country. To veto the bill, therefore, would be to become a partizan Governor, and perhaps to kindle the flames of civil war. The French, denied the

redress of their grievances by constitutional means, would certainly have been driven into disaffection, and probably into armed revolt. It was the crisis of responsible government, and Lord Elgin, in spite of the menaced odium of the Opposition party, determined to act as a constitutional Governor.

On the twenty-sixth of July, he proceeded in state to the parliament house, on the site where now stands St. Anne's market, and gave assent to the obnoxious bill. On leaving the building he was received with groans and hootings by a well-dressed mob about the doors, and his carriage, as he drove off, was assailed with stones and rotten eggs.

The city was thrown into a ferment. The fire bells rang an alarm. A tumultuous crowd assembled on the broad parade of the Champ de Mars to denounce the procedure of the Governor. Violent speeches were made. The cry was raised "To the parliament house!" It was now night. The excited mob surged through the streets, led by a party of men with flaming torches. The legislative halls were brilliantly lighted up, and the Assembly was in session. A number of visitors, including ladies, occupied the galleries. A shower of stones shattered the windows. The rioters rushed into the Assembly chamber; the ladies and members fled into the lobby. A ruffian seated himself in the Speaker's chair, and shouted, "The French parliament is dissolved." The work of destruction went on. Chandeliers were shattered, the members' seats and desks broken and piled in the middle of the floor, and the Speaker's mace carried off. The cry of "Fire!" was raised. The flames, kindled by the incendiary mob, raged furiously. The members strove in vain to save the public records. Sir Allan McNab succeeded in rescuing the portrait of Her Majesty, which cost £500.

Before morning the parliament house, with its splendid library, containing many thousands of valuable books and public records, was a mass of smouldering ruins. The money loss was more than the entire amount voted by the obnoxious bill; but who shall estimate the reproach brought upon the fair fame of the country by this lawless vandalism?

The rioters, having carried off the mace, proceeded to attack the office of the *Pilot* newspaper. The next night they wrecked the house of the premier, Mr. Lafontaine, and attacked the dwellings of Messrs. Baldwin, Cameron, Hincks, Holmes, Wilson, and Dr. Wolfred Nelson. They were only prevented from assaulting the Legislative Assembly, which had taken refuge in the old Government House, by the bayonets of a strong guard of military. The Assembly, by a large majority, passed resolutions approving of the action of the Governor; which, however, were strongly resisted by Sir Allan McNab and the Opposition.

The same day a turbulent meeting in the Champ de Mars passed resolutions for an address to the Queen, praying her to disallow the obnoxious bill, and to recall the unpopular Governor-General. Three hundred and fifty persons, mostly of some local importance, signed a manifesto declaring that annexation to the United States was the only remedy for the political and commercial condition of the country. This, of course, was a mere outburst of partizan feeling.

On the thirtieth of April, four days after the outbreak, Lord Elgin drove to town to receive an address from the Assembly. He was greeted with showers of stones in the streets. On his return he was again attacked, his aide-de camp wounded, and every panel of his carriage shattered. The premier's house was again violently assailed, nor did the rioting cease till a volley of musketry intimidated the mob and unfortunately killed one man.

Parliament sat no more in Montreal. This outbreak of mob violence drove it from the city, and it has never since returned. Deputations from Quebec and Toronto requested its removal to their respective cities. Mr. John A. Macdonald moved that Kingston become again the capital. Ottawa was also proposed, but it was resolved to transfer the seat of government to Toronto for the next two years, and afterwards to Quebec and Toronto alternately every four years.

In consequence of the public censure of his acts, Lord Elgin tendered his resignation to the Imperial authorities: but the Queen and the Home Government expressed

their approval of his course, and requested his continuance in office. The Rebellion Losses Bill was sustained by both Houses of the Imperial parliament; and Lord Elgin, assured of the personal favour of his sovereign and advanced a step in the peerage, continued to administer the government, and in time won the esteem of even his most bitter opponents.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE RAILWAY ERA.

1850. Political and commercial emancipation of Canada.
Rapid progress caused by Reciprocity with the United States, Railway and Steamship Enterprises, and Municipal Institutions.
Parliament meets in Toronto, May 14th.
Division of opinion in the Reform party on the Clergy Reserve question.
1851. Postal reform—Northern Railway begun.
Joseph Howe agitates the Intercolonial Railway scheme—Canada at the World's Fair.
Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways projected.
Retirement of Robert Baldwin from the Ministry—Francis Hincks becomes Premier—His fiscal policy.
1852. Montreal devastated by fire.
Quebec becomes the Seat of Government.
Incorporation of Grand Trunk Railway Company—Its financial policy.
Municipal Loan Fund Act.
Increased representation.
Financial state of the country.

FROM the year 1850, the British North American colonies may be said to have entered on a new era—to have reached their political manhood. The period of tutelage, of government from Downing Street, had passed away. The right to the management of their own local affairs was conceded by the Home authorities, and that of responsible government was vindicated in the colonies. The British Government reserved only the right of disallowing any acts of legislation opposed to Imperial interests, and on the other hand assumed the burden of colonial defence. Canada was thus one of the most lightly taxed and favourably situated countries in the world, and offered great inducements to the influx of capital and immigration, and soon entered upon a career of remarkable prosperity.

By the repeal of the Navigation Laws and of differential duties, the last commercial restrictions were broken down, commercial independence was attained, the colonies were permitted to trade freely with any part of the world, to import as they pleased, subject to a tariff fixed by

themselves, and to develop home manufactures and home enterprises as they saw fit.

Commercial reciprocity with the United States caused an immense development of international trade, and largely increased the value of every acre of land, of every bushel of wheat, and of every head of cattle in the country. A great impetus was also given to ship-building, to milling and manufacturing interests, to stock raising, wool growing, and cloth weaving, to the construction of agricultural implements, and to every other branch of industry.

This prosperity was still further increased by the extraordinary development of Canadian railway enterprises, and the consequent opening up of new parts of the country and increased facilities for travel and transport throughout its entire extent. The large employment of labour and the expenditure of immense amounts of money in constructing the various railways also greatly stimulated enterprise. Facilities for trade were still further increased by the establishment of the transatlantic line of steamships. Quebec and Montreal were thus brought within speedy and regular communication with Great Britain, to the immense commercial advantage of those cities. The introduction and rapid extension of telegraphic communication also greatly facilitated the transaction of business.

The establishment of municipal institutions created an intelligent interest in the local management of public affairs, and stimulated a spirit of local enterprise and improvement. The legalizing of municipal loan funds, the formation of joint stock companies and expansion of banking institutions, promoted the introduction of capital and its profitable employment.

The secularization of the clergy reserves and the abolition of seigniorial tenure, removed impediments to material prosperity and causes of popular discontent; the consolidation of the legal code simplified the administration of justice; and the thorough organization of the public school system and growth of newspaper and publishing enterprise contributed to the diffusion of general intelligence.

These important subjects must now be alluded to somewhat more in detail.

In 1850 the seat of government was transferred to Toronto. The first appearance of the Governor-General in the upper province was made the occasion of the exhibition of some political animosity; but the urbanity of his manner and the integrity of his conduct disarmed resentment, conciliated popular favour, and at length won warm esteem.

On the assembly of the legislature, May fourteenth, there was the promise of a quiet session. Warned by recent experience of the disastrous results of violent partizanship, both political parties seemed disposed to a truce, and avoided exciting topics and acrimonious debate. Mr. Papineau, indeed, resumed his advocacy of an elective Legislative Council, but this was only consistent with his life-long policy.

The discussion of the clergy reserve question was renewed outside of the House, principally in the journals of the advanced Reform party, the chief of which were the *Globe* and *Examiner* of Toronto. The older and more moderate Reformers, of whom Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine may be regarded as types, opposed the re-opening of this question, and sought to maintain the settlement of the subject that had been effected by parliament during Lord Sydenham's administration. Another section of the Reform party which was rapidly rising into influence wished for their entire secularization. A division in the ranks of the party thus took place, which led to the retirement of some of its ablest members.

Meanwhile, the material progress of the country was rapid. The transfer of the management of the 1851 post office department was followed by increased postal facilities and the reduction of letter rates, a uniform letter tariff of threepence per half ounce being introduced. The magnificent system of internal navigation, by means of the Canadian lakes, rivers and canals, was increased in value by lighthouses and other improvements, and was soon to be largely supplemented by an extensive railway system. The first sod of the Northern Railway of Canada—the pioneer of Canadian railway enterprises, except a short section in Lower Canada—was turned amid imposing ceremonies by Lady

Elgin; and by the construction of the road a most important agricultural country was opened up.

The importance, from a military point of view, of an intercolonial railway between the maritime provinces and Canada had been pointed out by Lord Durham, and its construction had been a favourite scheme of successive Governments. The difficulty and expense of the undertaking, however, were so great that the Imperial authorities declined to guarantee a provincial loan for the purpose.

In 1850 a railway convention was held at Portland, out of which grew the project of the European and North American Railway, connecting Halifax and St. John with Portland and the railway system of the United States. Joseph Howe, an energetic and patriotic Nova Scotia editor and political leader, threw himself, with characteristic enthusiasm, into these railway projects. Sustained by the public opinion of his province, he went to England to urge upon the Imperial Government the construction of an intercolonial road. His energy and eloquence made a very favourable impression as to the importance of the undertaking, and of the immense and valuable undeveloped resources of the country—which was increased by the very creditable exhibit of the British North American provinces at the World's Fair of 1851, successfully projected by the late Prince Consort.

A convention was called at Toronto by Lord Elgin to settle the shares and responsibilities to be borne by the several provinces in this great undertaking. The Imperial guarantee, without which no loan could be raised for such a gigantic project, could not be obtained, and the scheme, for the time, fell through. Each province was left to carry out separate enterprises of railway construction. In the province of Canada, the Grand Trunk line, connecting the lakes with tide water, and the Great Western Railway, connecting at the Niagara and Detroit Rivers with the railway systems of the United States, were regarded as of more practical utility than one to the maritime provinces. Into the Grand Trunk scheme Mr. Francis Hincks threw himself with characteristic energy, and the Great Western Railway was actively

promoted by Sir Allan McNab and others in the upper province.

The growing intimacy of commercial relations between Canada and the United States was the occasion of a grand international *fête* at Boston, September, 1851, at which the most cordial sentiments of mutual peace and good-will found utterance. Lord Elgin, especially, won laurels for himself, and cemented the bonds of unity between the two countries by the happy eloquence of his speech and by the genial courtesy of his manners.

The growing political influence of what might be called the extreme wing of the Reform party, popularly designated the "Clear Grits," from their supposed intense radicalism, led to a reorganization of the cabinet. Mr. Robert Baldwin, in accordance with his constitutional principles, had already retired from office on being outvoted on a measure connected with the Court of Chancery. In the new cabinet Dr. Rolph, the former rebel and now pardoned refugee, and Malcolm Cameron, another "advanced Reformer," found places. Mr. Hincks became premier by right of his predominant influence in the ministry, and entered upon that fiscal policy which at once so greatly aided the development of the country and increased its financial burdens. A general election resulted, in which several old and honoured members of the Reform party were rejected, and several new men were introduced. Robert Baldwin was defeated in York, and William Lyon Mackenzie was returned for Haldimand—striking indications of the change which had come over the party.

During the following summer, a terrible fire devastated 1852 a large portion of Montreal, chiefly the wooden tenements of the French population, and rendered ten thousand of the inhabitants homeless. A generous outburst of sympathy and of practical beneficence was evoked throughout the provinces by this disaster, in which all classes, irrespective of race, or creed, or party, joined.

Quebec now became for four years the seat of government. Parliament met in the old historic capital on the sixteenth of August, and Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald became Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. During a

busy session of three months, one hundred and ninety-three Acts were duly passed. No less than twenty-eight of these had reference to railway matters—an evidence of the enthusiasm which had taken possession of the public mind on this subject. Among the most important of these was the Act incorporating the Grand Trunk Railway, one of the longest roads under one management in the world. The bonds of the company received the guarantee of the province to the extent of £3000 sterling per mile, and a further grant of £40,000 for every £100,000 expended by the company. Thus, during the construction of the road, a sum of \$16,000,000 was added to the liabilities of the country, and in fourteen years the indebtedness to the government of the Grand Trunk Railway, including unpaid interest, was \$23,000,000.

This increase of the provincial liabilities, however, was more than compensated indirectly by the immense impetus given to the internal development of the country, the increased value of real estate, and the facilities for transport and travel furnished to the public. As a financial operation the building of the road was disastrous to the English shareholders, its stock having always ruled very low on 'Change. The great cost of construction and of maintenance, the severity of the winters, and, especially at first, the lack of remunerative local traffic and travel, and competition with the through lines from the West to the seaboard, and, during the summer, with the lake and river water carriage, all conspired to greatly reduce its profits.

Another piece of legislation introduced by Mr. Hincks, which largely increased the public indebtedness, was the establishment of the Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund for Upper Canada. The intention, and to a certain degree the result, of this measure were beneficent. It enabled municipalities to obtain money for local improvements, roads, bridges, and railway construction, which proved of great and permanent value to the country. Encouraged by the facilities for raising money, however, some municipalities rushed into rash expenditure and incurred debts, the burden of which, in consequence of their inability to meet their engagements, fell upon the

government. The expenditure under this scheme, and its extension to Lower Canada, soon increased the public debt by the amount of nearly ten millions.

During this session, by the Parliamentary Representation Act, the number of members of the Assembly was raised from eighty-four to one hundred and thirty, sixty-five for each province, and the representation was more equitably distributed territorially.

Among the other subjects of parliamentary discussion were the abolition of seigniorial tenure, the introduction of decimal currency, and the establishment of a line of ocean steamers between Quebec and Liverpool—all of which were subsequently carried into effect.

The finances of the country, notwithstanding its growing expenditure, exhibited remarkable elasticity, the surplus of the year being nearly \$1,000,000.* Canadian securities bearing six per cent. interest were quoted at a premium of sixteen per cent. on the London Stock Exchange. The heavy interest account resulting from the legislation of this session, however, soon reduced the surplus to zero, and led to a series of annual deficits that greatly lowered the value of Canadian securities in the money market.

* The revenue for the year was \$3,976,706; the expenditure, \$3,059,081 the surplus, \$917,625.

CHAPTER XXXI.

IMPORTANT LEGISLATION.

1853. The Gavazzi riots at Quebec and Montreal.
Waning influence of the Hincks Administration—Personal charges against the Premier.
1854. RECIPROCITY TREATY concluded, June 5th—Its conditions and results.
The ministry defeated—Appeals to the country—Dissolution of parliament and general election.
The Hincks Ministry forced to resign.
The McNab-Morin Coalition Cabinet formed—State of parties.
THE SECULARIZATION OF THE CLERGY RESERVES.
THE ABOLITION OF SEIGNIORIAL TENURE.
Encouragement of Immigration—Incorporation of Canada Steamship Company.
Resignation of Lord Elgin—His subsequent career and death.
Retirement of Mr. Hincks.
The Crimean War—Battle of the Alma—Canadian sympathy.

Two prominent subjects of public interest continued to provoke warm discussion in the political press—the settlement of the seigniorial tenure and clergy reserve questions. The latter subject was formally surrendered to the Canadian parliament for legislation, by the Home Government, May ninth, 1853. The life interests of the existing claimants on the reserves were, however, in accordance with Lord Sydenham's Act, to be strictly protected.

In Montreal and Quebec, the great commercial cities of Lower Canada, the Protestant and Roman Catholic population had dwelt together side by side, for the most part, in peace and harmony since the conquest. Whatever interruptions of concord had taken place, arose rather from political than religious differences. An unhappy occurrence now took place, which led to a break in this harmony, and was the occasion of a good deal of acrimony. Father Gavazzi, an Italian priest, who had become a convert to Protestantism, was lecturing at Quebec on the topics of controversy between the two Churches. His impassioned eloquence excited the antagonism of his former co-religionists, who assailed the

church in which he was speaking, and violently dispersed the congregation, June sixth. Three days subsequently, while Gavazzi was addressing an audience in Zion Church, Montreal, a riot took place, in which it was averred that pistol shots were exchanged between the persons outside and those inside of the church. A strong body of police and military were unable to preserve the peace, and as the audience was dispersing as rapidly as possible, the mayor of the city, Mr. Wilson, a Roman Catholic gentleman, who seems to have completely lost his head on the occasion, unhappily gave the order to fire on the crowd. By the volley five persons were slain, and others wounded.

This tragical occurrence caused intense excitement throughout the country. As the Government failed to make any very rigorous investigation into the affair, the Protestant population strongly denounced the Hincks administration, and transferred their allegiance to Mr. Brown, who was regarded as the most eminent champion of Protestantism in the Assembly.

Other indications of the waning popularity of the ministry were not wanting. The delay in dealing with the long vexed clergy reserve question was a strong ground of dissatisfaction with a large and growing section of the Reform party. Charges of personal corruption, of employing his official influence for the advantage of himself and his friends in the purchase of city debentures and public lands, were freely made against Mr. Hincks, and materially lessened his popularity and that of his Government. The Conservative Opposition was now strengthened by the adhesion of many of the advanced Reform party, of whom Mr. Brown and Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie may be regarded as conspicuous examples.

The subject of international reciprocity between
1854 Canada and the United States had ever since the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849 engaged the attention of both Imperial and colonial authorities. The negotiations between the two neighbouring countries were now happily approaching completion. Lord Elgin, having first gone to England to promote the scheme, proceeded to Washington as the special envoy of the

Imperial Government, to close the treaty. It was signed on the fifth of June, 1854, by Lord Elgin and the Hon. W. L. Marcy, as representatives of their respective countries. It provided for the free interchange of the products of the sea, the soil, the forest, and the mine. The waters of the St. Lawrence, the St. John and the canals, and the inshore fisheries in the British waters, were conceded to the United States; and the navigation of Lake Michigan was thrown open to Canada. By the provisions of the treaty, it was to continue in force for ten years from March, 1855, and was then terminable on twelve months' notice from either party.

To the agricultural population of Canada the treaty was attended with immense advantage, and gave an important stimulus to every branch of productive industry. The maritime provinces, however, complained that the United States had nothing to exchange comparable with the valuable fisheries of their waters; and that while American shipping was admitted to the same privileges as that of Great Britain, yet colonial vessels were refused registration in the ports of the United States or a share of the coasting trade.

The ministry, conscious of waning influence, and anxious to take advantage of any possible *éclat* arising from the consummation of the reciprocity treaty, deferred the opening of parliament to the thirteenth of June. During the recess the old parliament building at Quebec had been destroyed by fire, and the war against Russia had been declared. These events were noticed in the speech from the throne, and also a proposed reduction of Canadian duties and extension of the elective franchise; but not a word was said about those absorbing themes—the clergy reserves and the seigniorial tenure. The Opposition, led by Sir Allan McNab and Mr. John A. Macdonald, determined, if possible, to defeat the ministry on the address in reply to the Governor's speech. Mr. Cauchon moved an amendment expressing censure of the Government for the delay in the settlement of the seigniorial tenure and clergy reserve questions; and the ministers found themselves beaten by a majority of thirteen in a House of seventy-one, June twenty-first. The defeated ministry, in the hope of increasing their following, re

solved to appeal to the country, and the following day Lord Elgin came down in state and prorogued the House, with a view to its immediate dissolution, although not a single bill had been passed.

The dissolution of parliament was soon proclaimed, and writs were issued for a new election. The premier, Mr. Hincks, was returned for two constituencies—Renfrew and South Oxford; but Mr. Brown was elected member for Lambton by a large majority over Mr. Malcolm Cameron, the Postmaster-General.

The Reform party was now openly divided, and the leading Reform papers—the *Globe*, *Examiner*, *North American*, and *Mackenzie's Message*—strove vigorously to lessen the strength of the ministry. On the assembling of the new parliament, September fifth, it was evident that they had succeeded. Mr. George Etienne Cartier, the ministerial candidate for Speaker, was defeated by a union of the Conservative Opposition and a section of the Reform party. The breach in the once solid Reform phalanx was now complete.

The ministry still hoped that their liberal programme of legislation for the session, including a proposition to make the Upper House elective, and at length to deal with the seigniorial tenure and clergy reserve questions, would prolong their term of office. They were, however, destined to disappointment.

On the opening of parliament, a question of privilege arose. The Attorney-General for Lower Canada requested twenty-four hours for consideration. The House refused the request, Dr. Rolph, a member of the ministry, voting with the Opposition. Mr. Hincks and his colleagues had now no alternative but to resign. Their parliamentary influence, however, was still greater than that of either of the parties opposed to them, separately, by the combination of which they were thrust from power.

When Sir Allan McNab was called on to form a new ministry, he made overtures to the members of the defeated administration for the formation of a coalition Government, on the basis of the policy already announced in the speech from the throne. The carrying out of this policy the country demanded, and no Govern-

ment which refused it could hope for popular support. The new ministry included among its members Sir Allan McNab, President of the Council; Mr. John A. Macdonald, Mr. William Cayley, Mr. Robert Spence, and Mr. Chaveau; and represented both the Conservative and Reform elements of the House. Many supporters of the old administration, however, went into opposition, together with that Reform section by whose aid it had been overthrown.

The new ministers had, of course, to return to their constituencies for reëlection. They were strongly opposed by extreme politicians of both parties, but were all returned to parliament. The position of parties, when the ministers resumed their seats, may be briefly described as follows:—

The Conservative parties of Upper and Lower Canada, which had previously been separated by local differences, were now consolidated under the joint leadership of Sir Allan McNab and Mr. Morin, and were reënforced by a considerable section of the Reform party, led by Mr. Hincks. The Opposition consisted of a remnant of the old ministerial party, led by Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald; the Rouges, or Liberal party of Lower Canada, under the leadership of Mr. Dorion; and the Reform section, popularly known as "Clear Grits," who regarded Mr. Brown as their chief, and the *Globe* newspaper, now become a powerful political organ, as the exponent of their opinions.

The policy of the Government, however, included measures for which the Reform party had long contended. Prominent among these was one for the secularization of the clergy reserves. A bill was therefore promptly brought forward for that purpose. By the bill previously introduced by the Draper administration for the settlement of this question, the vast revenue arising from these reserves, at first claimed exclusively for the Church of England, was proposed to be divided with the Church of Scotland and other denominations in proportion to their private contributions to the support of their clergy. But the principle of the voluntary support of the ministry by the people, which had led to the Free Church secession in Scotland in 1843, and which had been previously held

by other dissenting bodies, was widely prevalent throughout Canada. The Government, therefore, although many of their supporters were opposed to the principle, were forced to yield to the popular demand. The clergy reserve lands, originally amounting to one-seventh of all the crown territory of the province, were consequently handed over to the various municipal corporations in proportion to their population, to be employed for secular purposes. The life interests of the existing incumbents were commuted, with the consent of the holders, for a small permanent endowment, and this long-vexed question was settled for ever: the principle of the perfect religious equality of all denominations in the eye of the law had finally triumphed.

The other subject urgently demanding legislation, related exclusively to Lower Canada. This was the system of seigniorial tenure, whose vexatious conditions greatly retarded the progress of the country. This system was a legacy from the old French *régime*. Much of the land of New France had been granted to scions of noble houses, under the feudal conditions obtaining in the Old World, as previously described.* It was chiefly when the population became more dense and the transfers of property more frequent that these conditions became oppressively felt, especially that requiring the payment of one-twelfth of the purchase price of the land to the seignior at every sale, and the vexatious milling and fishing dues and other conditions of vassalage imposed on the tenants. The value of these seigniorial claims had greatly increased, and they could be equitably abolished only by a commutation from the public funds of the province, supplemented by certain payments of the *censitaires* or small land-holders, in consideration of the exemptions about to be granted them. The entire expenditure under the authority of this Act was a little over two and a half million dollars. Thus was abolished, without violence or revolution as in other lands, the last vestige of the feudal system in the New World.

Measures were also adopted by the Government for the encouragement of immigration; quarantine stations and hospitals were established, and agents appointed for

* See page 48.

furnishing authentic information, obtaining land grants, and generally assisting immigrants on their arrival on our shores.

The Canada Ocean Steamship Company was also incorporated by Act of Parliament, and was aided by a subsidy of \$1,800,000. From this beginning has grown one of the largest steam fleets that plough the ocean. Direct trade with Great Britain has been greatly stimulated, and the city of Montreal has been made one of the great seaports of the world.

On the eighteenth of December parliament adjourned, and the following day Lord Elgin resigned the governorship of the province. He had won the lasting esteem and admiration of a people who had been largely alienated in sympathy from his administration. He subsequently employed his distinguished abilities in the service of his sovereign, in the discharge of difficult and important missions in China and Japan. As the highest gift of the crown, he received in 1862 the appointment of Governor-General of India; and the following year, worn out with excessive labours, he died beneath the shadows of the Himalayas, leaving behind him the blameless reputation of a Christian statesman.

Mr. Hincks also retired from Canadian public life. He returned to England, and received the appointment of Governor of the Windward West India Islands, and, in recognition of his distinguished public services, the honour of knighthood.

The gallant struggle of the Allied Armies against the hosts of Russia, now in progress, evoked the enthusiastic loyalty of both Canadas. England, in conjunction with France and Turkey, felt constrained to oppose the Russian invasion of the Danubian principalities, and the forcing of a humiliating treaty on the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. The glorious but dear-bought victory of the Alma became the occasion for the practical expression of their sympathy in the grant of £20,000 for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the fallen heroes of those gory slopes, dyed with the best blood of three allied nations.

The invading armies now undertook the siege of Sebastopol, which had been enormously strengthened, and made

one of the most formidable fortifications in the world. But the frosts and snows of winter proved more terrible than the Russian sword. Disease, exposure, and the toil in the trenches, wasted the allied armies to a frightful extent. The Aberdeen ministry, under which gross military mismanagement and neglect occurred, was compelled to resign, and Lord Palmerston was summoned to the helm of state, in order to guide the imperilled fortunes of the country. The flower of the English army perished in this disastrous siege, with its frequent sorties and battles; and many a British home was called to mourn the appalling desolations caused by the Crimean war.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COALITION MINISTRY.

1855. Sir Edmund Walker Head, Governor-General.
A busy Parliamentary Session—Militia Organization.
CLOSE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR—Rejoicings throughout Canada.
Financial prosperity of the country.
1856. Parliament meets at Toronto—Sir Allan McNab resigns leadership to
Mr. John A. Macdonald—Sketch of new Premier's career.
The LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MADE ELECTIVE—Its Constitution.
The Desjardins' Canal Tragedy.
1857. The Burning of the *Montreal*.
Chinese War and Indian Mutiny—Canadian sympathy.
SEVERE COMMERCIAL CRISIS.
1858. General Election—Reform majority in Upper Canada.
The "Double-Majority" principle abandoned.
Demand for "REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION."
Sketch of Mr. George Brown's career and character.

SIR EDMUND WALKER HEAD, the successor of Lord Elgin
1855 as Governor-General of Canada, was a gentleman
of distinguished scholarship, a prizeman and fellow
of Oriel College, Oxford, and a man of considerable ad-
ministrative ability. His first diplomatic appointment
was that of Governor of New Brunswick, from which
he was promoted to the position of Governor-General
of British North America.

In the coalition ministry, during recess, Messrs. Cau-
chon, Cartier, and Lemieux succeeded Messrs. Morin,
Chaveau, and Chabot. The large and solid majority of
the ministry exempted it from the effects of party skir-
mishing, and from the necessity of strategic tactics. A
large amount of important legislation, represented by no
less than two hundred and fifty-one bills, was transacted.
Prominent among these was a new Militia Act, which
provided for the organization of efficiently equipped and
officered volunteer corps. As a result of this Act, the
previously existing paper army of sedentary militia gave
place to the gallant citizen soldiery which at Ridgeway
and Frelighsburg protected our frontier with their lives
and blood.

During the winter the tragic tale of siege and sortie, of frost and fire, of sickness and suffering and death in the hospitals, camps and trenches before Sebastopol, thrilled the souls of British patriots around the world, and nowhere more than throughout the length and breadth of Canada. In almost every town and hamlet generous donations were contributed to the nation's heroes who so gallantly maintained her name and fame on a foreign shore. The illustrious victories of Balaclava, Inkerman, and Sebastopol became memories of imperishable power, and kindled beacon-fires of joy throughout the land, from the rock-built citadel of Quebec to the remote villages on the shores of Lake Huron.

The financial prosperity of Canada after the emancipation of her trade in 1849 was very great. In 1854 the customs duties, at the average rate of twelve per cent., had amounted to nearly five millions, and the total public revenue to over six millions, while the expenditure was only a little over four millions. The railway legislation had, however, added twenty-one millions to the public debt, which, in the year 1855, had risen to the verge of thirty-nine millions.

The seat of government was again removed to Toronto, 1856 where parliament was opened on the fifteenth of February. The speech from the throne announced that a large amount of money accruing from clergy reserve lands was awaiting disbursement among the municipalities; that the contract had been closed for the establishment of the Canadian transatlantic steamship line; and that certain legislative reforms would be brought under the notice of the House, including the old constitutional question of an elective Legislative Council. It also congratulated the country on the peace and prosperity which it enjoyed, while other portions of the world were racked with the throes of war.

The debate on the address was keen and acrimonious. The address, however, was carried by a considerable majority; yet the increased strength of the Opposition indicated the waning influence of the administration of Sir Allan McNab. That gentleman was induced to resign, in order to make way for the more brilliant leadership of the acting Attorney-General, Mr. John A. Macdonald.

Mr. Macdonald, who subsequently filled so prominent a position in Canadian politics, was born in Sutherlandshire, Scotland, in 1815. His parents soon after removed to Canada, and settled in Kingston, Ontario. Having studied law in that city, Mr. Macdonald was admitted to the bar in 1836, in his twenty-first year. He first prominently attracted public notice in 1839, by his brilliant defence of Von Schultz, the Polish exile, who was executed with nine others, American raiders, captured at the battle of Windmill Point, Prescott. In 1844, he was elected to the representation of Kingston in the parliament of the united Canadas, which city he has ever since continued to represent in the councils of his country. On the resignation of the Hincks administration, in 1854, he became a member of the coalition ministry by which it was succeeded, and was now recognized as the leader of the Conservative party of Upper Canada. With a considerable degree of administrative skill, he combined a large amount of political tact and sagacity. Through his genial manners he exercises a remarkable personal influence over those with whom he comes in contact, amounting sometimes almost to a fascination.

Under this Conservative Government was passed a measure for which the Reform party had long striven, and which their opponents had resolutely resisted. This was the Act making the Legislative Council an elective body. Existing members were allowed to retain their seats for life; but twelve members were to be elected biennially, to hold office for the term of eight years. This system was relinquished under the Confederation Act, but a strong feeling is entertained in favour of its restoration. Important measures of law reform were also enacted during this parliamentary session.

This year a dreadful railway tragedy, the first of the kind which had ever happened in Canada, caused a thrill of horror throughout the country. On the twelfth of March, a passenger train proceeding from Toronto to Hamilton plunged through an open drawbridge into the Desjardins' Canal. Seventy persons were killed, among them Mr. Zimmerman, a leading capitalist, and some of our most prominent citizens.

The following year, June twenty-sixth, a still more
1857 terrible disaster occurred on the Lower St. Lawrence. The steamer *Montreal*, with two hundred and fifty-eight Scottish emigrants on board, took fire opposite Cape Rouge, near Quebec, and burned to the water's edge. Two hundred and fifty lives were lost by this tragedy.

The continuance of the Chinese war and the outbreak of the Sepoy mutiny, taxed to the utmost the force of Britain's arms, and called forth the intense sympathy of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects. The awful massacre of Cawnpore sent a pang of anguish throughout the empire, which was followed by a throb of exultation on the heroic relief of Lucknow. The names of the veteran Outram, the gallant Campbell, the chivalric Lawrence, the saintly Havelock, were added to our country's bea-roll of immortal memories, to be to her sons an inspiration to patriotism, to piety and to duty, for ever.

A comparative failure of the wheat crop, coincident with a depression in the English money market and a commercial panic in the United States, together with the almost total cessation of railway construction, produced a financial crisis of great severity throughout Canada. This was aggravated by the overimporting and rash speculations in stocks and real estate which had been stimulated by the abundant expenditure of money in railway enterprises. When the crisis came many of the strongest mercantile houses fell before it. The inflated prices of stocks and real estate came tumbling down, and many who thought themselves rich for life were reduced to insolvency.

The stagnation in trade caused a great falling off in the public revenue. The Government had to assume the payment of the interest on the railway advances and the Municipal Loan Fund debt, amounting respectively to \$800,000 and \$400,000 annually. The consequence was a deficit in the public balance sheet for the year of \$340,000. The rapid development of the natural resources of the country, and the elasticity of public credit, however, were such that, under the Divine blessing, prosperity soon returned to crown with gladness the industry of the merchant, the artizan, and the husbandman.

The country had at length grown tired of the expense and inconvenience of the removal of the seat of government, every four years, from Quebec to Toronto, or *vice versa*. On account of local jealousies and sectional interests, however, the representatives of the two provinces could not agree upon any permanent seat of government. Both Houses of parliament, therefore, passed resolutions during this session requesting Her Majesty the Queen to finally settle the question, by the selection of a site for a new capital.

The year closed with a dissolution of the legislature, and at the ensuing general election each political party strove vigorously to obtain a parliamentary majority. In Upper Canada the Reformers had the preponderance, and Mr. Brown, the leader of the Opposition, was elected for both Toronto and North Oxford. In Lower Canada the Rouges, or French Liberals, were decidedly in the minority.

Since the union of the Canadas in 1840, successive ministries had succeeded in carrying their measures by a majority from each province, in accordance with what was known as the "double-majority" principle, adopted in order to prevent either section of the country from forcing unpalatable legislation on the other. In obedience to this principle, Mr. Robert Baldwin, although sustained by a large majority of the whole House, resigned office in consequence of the Upper Canada majority against his Chancery Bill. The Reform preponderance in the western province compelled the ministry of Mr. John A. Macdonald to abandon this "double-majority" principle if they would continue in office. The Government measures were therefore carried chiefly by a Lower Canadian ministerial majority. This was felt by the Upper Canadian Opposition to be all the more galling, because the wealth and population, and consequently the contributions to the public revenue, of the western province had increased relatively much more than had these elements of prosperity in eastern Canada. This soon led to an outcry against what was designated as "French domination," and the persistent advocacy of the principle of representation by population was adopted by the Reform leaders of Upper Canada.

The most conspicuous and influential advocate of this principle was Mr. George Brown, the editor of the *Toronto Globe*, a gentleman who, though seldom holding office, has largely contributed to the moulding of the institutions and political destiny of his adopted country. Mr. Brown, like many of the public men of Canada, was a native of Scotland, having been born in the city of Edinburgh in 1821. When he was in his seventeenth year the family emigrated to New York. Here his father, Mr. Peter Brown, a gentleman of superior abilities and cultivated literary tastes, entered into mercantile pursuits. He subsequently established a weekly journal, the *British Chronicle*, in whose columns and in a volume of essays he defended the honour of Great Britain against hostile American criticism.

In 1843 the family removed to Toronto, and the following year Mr. George Brown became the publisher of the *Globe* newspaper, which, under his vigorous management, has become one of the most successful journalistic enterprises of Canada.

Mr. Brown's first public employment was in 1849, when, as government commissioner under the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, he investigated the condition of the provincial penitentiary, and procured the rectification of its internal management. In 1851 Mr. Brown was elected to the representation of the county of Kent in the parliament of Canada; and from that time to his retirement from active public life, subsequent to the confederation of the British North American provinces, he occupied a conspicuous place and exerted a powerful influence in the councils of the country.

Mr. Brown resembled, in something more than nationality, those active politicians, his fellow-countrymen, Robert Gourlay and William Lyon Mackenzie. He possessed the same indefatigable energy, the same keenness in detecting and vigour in denouncing abuses, and the same tenacity of purpose, which enabled him to battle for years against formidable opposition for the achievement of cherished designs. He was, however, of superior intellectual ability to either of those sturdy pioneers in the rugged path of political reform. Unlike the impet-

uous and often reckless Mackenzie, he possessed the sound judgment which enabled him to confine his efforts within constitutional limits; and more fortunate than either of them, he was permitted to witness, in the confederation of British power on this continent, the ultimate triumph of the principles for which he had so long contended.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

“REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION.”

1858. The new parliament—Thomas D'Arcy McGee.
Mr. Brown's demand for representation by population voted down.
THE QUEEN SELECTS OTTAWA AS THE PERMANENT CAPITAL.
The Opposition disapprove her choice—A false move.
The Ministry resign, and Mr. Brown forms a Cabinet.
He is defeated, and resigns after two days' tenure of office.
The Cartier-Macdonald Ministry formed—The “Double-Shuffle.”
The Atlantic Telegraph laid—The Hundredth Regiment—Death of Robert Baldwin.
1859. Law Reforms—Reform Convention at Toronto—Financial prosperity.
John Brown invades Virginia.
1860. Parliament meets at Quebec—Mr. Brown's Resolutions in favour of Local Self-government and Joint Authority rejected.
LOYAL RECEPTION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—His royal progress.
INAUGURATION OF VICTORIA BRIDGE—The Party Emblems *contretemps*.
THE EXTRADITION OF ANDERSON, THE FUGITIVE SLAVE, REFUSED.
Election of Abraham Lincoln—Siege of Fort Sumter.
1861. OUTBREAK OF WAR OF SECESSION—The Queen's Neutrality Proclamation—Canadian sympathy with the North.
Increase of Canadian population.
Death of William Lyon Mackenzie.
Retirement of Sir Edmund Walker Head.

THE new parliament met in Toronto, February twenty-eighth. Among its many new members was Thomas 1858 D'Arcy McGee, a former enthusiastic Irish patriot, and partner in the seditious schemes of the insurrectionary leaders, Mitchell and Meagher, now returned as the loyal representative of West Montreal. The debate on the address was long and acrimonious. The Opposition, led by Mr. Brown, vigorously assailed the ministry, and strongly pressed the question of representation by population. It was, however, defeated by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-two.

The question of the seat of government, we have seen, had been referred for final decision to Her Majesty the Queen. That decision was now given in favour of Ottawa. There was much to commend this choice. The position was remote from the American frontier. It was pictur-

esquely situated on one of the great waterways of the country, which formed the dividing line between the two provinces. It also occupied an important strategic position, and one of great strength and security in case of invasion. The disappointment, however, of several Canadian cities, which had aspired to the dignity of becoming the capital, caused considerable dissatisfaction in their respective neighbourhoods. Taking advantage of this feeling, the Opposition brought forward a resolution expressing deep regret at Her Majesty's choice, which was carried by a majority of fourteen. It was a false move, and placed the Opposition in apparent antagonism to the sovereign. The ministry, indentifying their cause with hers, promptly resigned, and immediately won a large amount of public sympathy.

Mr. Brown, as leader of the Opposition, was invited by the Governor-General to form a cabinet, and acceded to the request. The new ministry, although containing several gentlemen held in the highest esteem for ability and intelligence,* failed to command a majority of the House. Many of the members repented their rash vote against the Queen's decision, and, by a division of seventy-one to thirty-one, the ministry was defeated. Mr. Brown requested a dissolution of parliament, in order that he might appeal to the country; but this His Excellency declined to grant, alleging that the House, being newly elected, must reflect the popular will. The ministry therefore resigned, after a tenure of office of only two days. The action of the Governor-General, however, gave serious umbrage to a large section of the Reform party, and his subsequent course was subject to much adverse criticism.

Mr. George E. Cartier was now invited to construct a cabinet. This, with the aid of Mr. John A. Macdonald, he succeeded in doing.†

* Its members were Messrs. George Brown, James Morris, Michael Foley, John Sandfield Macdonald, Oliver Mowat, and Dr. Conner, for Upper Canada; and for Lower Canada, Messrs. Dorion, Drummond, Thibaudeau, Lemieux, Holton and Laberge.

† It comprised Messrs. John A. Macdonald, John Ross, P. Vankoughnet, G. Sherwood and Sidney Smith, for Upper Canada; and Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Rose, Belleau, Sicotte and Alley, for Lower Canada.

A clause in the Independence of Parliament Act provided that a minister resigning any office might, within a month, accept another without going back to his constituents for reëlection. Several members of the late Macdonald administration who entered the new cabinet took advantage of this Act by a simple exchange of departmental office. This action was strenuously denounced by the Reform press, under the designation of the "double shuffle." It was, however, on an appeal to the courts, sustained by law; but the obnoxious clause of the Act by which it was rendered valid was shortly after rescinded.

Among the legislative measures of the session were Acts raising the customs duty from twelve to fifteen per cent., introducing the decimal system of currency, and defining the privileges of the franchise. During the summer the pioneer Atlantic telegraph cable linked together in wondrous fellowship the Old World and the New; but scarcely had the Queen's message of congratulation to the President of the United States flashed beneath the ocean's bed, when communication was interrupted, and the permanent union, by the electric wire, of the eastern and western continents was for some time longer postponed.

The loyalty of Canada to the British throne was evidenced by the enthusiasm with which her sons volunteered for enlistment in the Hundredth or Prince of Wales' Regiment for the regular army. In this year also the provincial university of Upper Canada entered upon a new career of prosperity, by the occupation of the magnificent buildings erected for its accommodation. With the close of the year passed away one of Canada's purest patriots, the Honourable Robert Baldwin, to whose memory the rival political parties of the country vied in paying respect.

The legislation of the parliamentary session which 1859 opened on January twenty-ninth, embraced several important acts. One of these referred to the consolidation of the statutes of Upper and Lower Canada, which was at length successfully completed, and proved of immense advantage to all interested in the transaction of legal business. In order to meet the continued deficit

in the revenue, the general rate of customs duties was advanced to twenty per cent.; but manufacturers were increasingly favoured by the admission of raw staples free of duty. The seat of government question was finally set at rest by the authorization of the construction of parliament buildings of a magnificent character at the selected capital. A loyal address to Her Majesty was cordially voted, conveying a pressing invitation that the Queen or some member of the royal family should visit the country and formally open the Victoria Railway Bridge at Montreal, which was now approaching completion.

The announcement was made to parliament by the Governor-General, that the project of a union of the British North American provinces had been the subject of a correspondence with the Home Government. At a great Reform gathering held in Toronto in November, resolutions were passed tending to the same result, and asserting the necessity for local self-government of the provinces, with a joint central authority.

As a result of the new tariff and of an abundant harvest, the revenue of the year was considerably in excess of the expenditure. Over two thousand miles of railway were now in operation, and were rapidly developing the resources of the country. The public debt had increased to over fifty-four millions; but the whole had been incurred in promoting internal improvement, and none of it for that incubus of many other countries—the support of fleets or armies.

In the neighbouring republic of the United States the approach of the irrepressible conflict between the hostile forces of liberty and slavery was precipitated by the brave but futile invasion of Virginia by John Brown, for the liberation of the bondmen, and by his heroic death upon the scaffold.

On the twenty-eighth of February, the Canadian legislature assembled in Quebec, to which city it had 1860 for the last time removed. A despatch from the Colonial Secretary announced that Her Majesty, unable to leave the seat of the empire, would be represented at the opening of the Victoria Bridge by the Prince of Wales. A vote of \$20,000 was therefore included in

the estimates, to give a loyal reception to the heir apparent to the throne.

During this session Mr. Brown introduced two important resolutions, embodying the conclusions of the Toronto Reform convention of the previous year. The first declared "that the existing legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters; that it had resulted in a heavy debt, grave political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction; and that from the antagonism developed through difference of origin, local interest and other causes, the union in its present form could no longer be continued with advantage to the people." The second resolution asserted "that the true remedy for those evils would be found in the formation of two or more local governments, to which should be committed all matters of a sectional character, and the erection of some joint authority to dispose of the affairs common to all."

These resolutions were rejected by the House—the first by a vote of sixty-seven to thirty-six, the second by a vote of seventy-four to thirty-two; but the principles which they expressed, though scorned at the time, were destined to prevail, and to become incorporated in the present constitution of the Dominion.

The ministry was sustained during the session by large majorities, and the House adjourned, May nineteenth, to meet three months later, in order to give a fitting welcome to the Prince of Wales.

Throughout the country the anticipated visit of the son of our beloved sovereign evoked the most loyal enthusiasm. Every town and village on his proposed route was decked in gala dress. On July twenty-third H. M. Ship *Hero*, with an accompanying fleet of man-of-war vessels, bearing the Prince of Wales and suite, reached St. John's, Newfoundland, amid the thundering of cannon and the loyal cheers of the people.

The progress of the royal party was a continued ovation. After visiting Halifax, St. John, N. B., Fredericton, and Charlottetown, they were welcomed to Canada by the Governor-General and a brilliant suite at Gaspé, August fourteenth. On the seventeenth the royal fleet sailed up the gloomy gorge of the Saguenay, and the thunders of its cannon awoke the immemorial echoes of the lofty cliffs

of Capes Trinity and Eternity. The following day the Prince reached the capital, and was profoundly impressed with the magnificent site of the many-ramparted and grand old historic city. After receiving a loyal address from both branches of the legislature, the royal progress was resumed.

On the twenty-fifth of the month, amid the utmost pomp and pageantry, in the name of his august mother, the Prince of Wales drove the last rivet of the magnificent bridge that bears her name. Bestriding the rapid current of the St. Lawrence, here nearly two miles wide, on four and twenty massive piers—the centre span being three hundred and thirty feet wide and sixty feet above high water mark—it is one of the grandest achievements of engineering skill in the world. It cost over five millions of dollars, and was designed and brought to completion by a Canadian engineer, Thomas C. Keefer, and the world-renowned bridge builder, Robert Stephenson. Illuminations and fireworks, turning night into day, and a grand carnival of festivities, celebrated the joyous occasion.

At Ottawa, on September the first, amid as imposing and picturesque surroundings as any on the continent, was laid the corner stone of the stately pile, worthy of the site, which was to be the home of the legislature of a great dominion. An overland ride to Brockville, and a sail through the lovely scenery of the Thousand Islands, brought the royal party to Kingston. Through an unfortunate *contretemps*—the exhibition of party emblems on an arch erected by the Orange society—the inhabitants of both Kingston and Belleville were deprived of the pleasure of expressing their loyalty to their future sovereign. Toronto was surpassed by no city in British North America in the magnificence of its decorations, the enthusiasm of its demonstration, and the heartiness of its loyalty. The royal progress through the western peninsula was accompanied by no less cordial exhibitions of loving fealty to the heir of England's crown.

At Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York, and Boston, the Prince of Wales received from a foreign nation a warmth of welcome which proved its unforgotten chi-

valric regard toward the heir of a long line of English kings, and its admiration of his royal mother—as woman, wife and queen, the paragon of sovereigns. On October twenty-ninth the royal party sailed from Portland, carrying recollections of the warmest hospitality alike from a foreign nation and from the subjects of the British crown, accompanied, in the case of the latter, by proofs of the most devoted loyalty to the throne and person of the sovereign.

Toward the close of the year the heart of the country was no less nobly stirred, not by homage to a royal prince, but by sympathy for a fugitive slave. Seven years before, Robert Anderson, in making his escape from bondage in Missouri, had slain a man who sought to prevent his flight. After several years' residence in Canada, he was tracked by the slave-catcher, charged with murder, and his extradition demanded under the Ashburton treaty. Legal opinion was divided as to the validity of the demand. Intense popular interest was felt in the question, which found expression in enthusiastic public meetings of sympathy for the hunted fugitive. It was argued that in defending himself against recapture to bondage, and to condign punishment and probably a cruel death, he was exercising an inalienable human right. An appeal was made to the English Court of Queen's Bench; but while the appeal was pending, Anderson was set free by a Canadian court on the ground of informality in his committal.

In the United States the war clouds were lowering which were soon to deluge the country in blood. The domination of the slave power at length provoked the firm resistance of the North. Abraham Lincoln was elected as the tribune of the friends of liberty. The haughty South refused to bow to this expression of the popular will. First South Carolina, then other states, seceded from the Union and organized a confederacy based on human slavery. With the close of the year a federal force was besieged in Fort Sumter, guarding Charleston harbour.

The first shot fired on the flag of the Republic reverberated through the nation. North and South
1861 rushed to arms. A royal proclamation, issued May thirteenth, enjoined strict neutrality on all British

subjects, and recognized the belligerent rights of the South. Such, however, was Canada's sympathy with the North in this war for human freedom—for such it ultimately proved to be—that before its close fifty thousand of her sons enlisted in the Northern armies, and many laid down their lives in costly sacrifice for what they felt to be a holy cause, while comparatively few entered the armies of the South.

At the battle of Bull's Run, on the twenty-first of July, were opened the sluices of the deep torrent of blood shed in this fratricidal war. For four long years of the nation's agony that gory tide ebbed and flowed over those fair and fertile regions stretching from the valley of the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, carrying sorrow and death into almost every hamlet in the Union, and into many a Canadian home; costing a million of lives and millions of treasure, but, let us thank God, emancipating for ever four millions of slaves.

At home, Canada enjoyed peace and prosperity. The census returns revealed a rapid increase of population. In 1841, that of Upper Canada was 465,375; in 1851 it was 952,061; in 1861 it had reached 1,396,091. The population of Lower Canada in 1841 was 690,782; in 1851, 890,261; and in 1861, 1,110,444. The population of all Canada, it will be seen, amounted in 1861 to 2,506,755. The rate of increase in the upper province had been so much greater than that of Lower Canada, that it now had an excess of 285,427 over the population of the latter, yet it had only the same parliamentary representation. This practical injustice lent new energy to the Upper Canadian agitation for representation by population. The feeling of jealousy between the two sections of the province led to extravagance of expenditure. Although Upper Canada contributed the larger part of the public revenue, the lower province claimed an equal share from the common treasury. Thus many unremunerative public works were constructed in one province as an offset to an expenditure for necessary constructions in the other.

During this year—on the twenty-eighth of August—the restless career of William Lyon Mackenzie came to a

close. He had, to a considerable degree, fallen out of view of a generation familiar only by report with the stirring but ill-guided events in which he bore so prominent a part.

In the month of October Sir Edmund Walker Head ceased to be Governor-General of Canada, and returned to Great Britain. With a considerable section of the community his popularity had greatly waned, on account of his alleged sympathy with one of the political parties of the country—an allegation which, if true, was probably more his misfortune than his fault.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

POLITICAL CRISIS.

1861. Lord Monck, Governor-General, October 24th.
Messrs. Slidell and Mason illegally captured from the British steamship *Trent*, November 9th.
Their rendition demanded—Threatened outbreak of War—Reënforcement of Canada and Loyalty of its Inhabitants.
Death of Prince Albert, December 15th.
Surrender of Slidell and Mason.
1862. The Government Militia Bill provides for extensive Fortifications.
The Bill is defeated, and the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry resign.
The Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet formed—Its Policy.
Death of Sir Allan McNab and Hon. W. H. Merritt.
Commercial prosperity consequent on American war.
The Cotton Famine—Canada at the World's Fair.
1863. Defeat of the Ministry—It appeals to the country.
Reconstruction of the Cabinet.
POLITICAL DEAD-LOCK—Neither Party has a working majority.
American irritation at the *Alabama* piracies.
Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

LORD MONCK, the new Governor-General, was the scion of an ancient and honourable Irish family. He represented for some years the English constituency of Portsmouth in the Imperial parliament, and was a Lord of the Treasury under the Palmerston administration. He was sworn into office on the twenty-fourth of October, 1861, and soon had to face a grave international difficulty, in which Great Britain became involved with the United States.

On the ninth of November, Captain Wilkes, of the U. S. steamship *Jacinto*, forcibly carried off from the British mail steamer *Trent*, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, commissioners of the Southern Confederacy to Great Britain and France. The British Government promptly resented this violation of international comity and of the rights of neutrals, and demanded the rendition of the captured commissioners. The foolish boasting and defiance of a large portion of the American press of the North, greatly estranged public sympathy from their cause, both in Canada and Great Britain, or diverted it

toward the Southern Confederacy, and rendered an outbreak of hostilities imminent.

While awaiting an answer to the ultimatum sent to the United States, the British Government shipped to Canada several regiments of troops, the flower of the army, including the Grenadier and Fusilier Guards and the Prince Consort's Own Rifle Brigade, with immense stores of munitions of war. The navigation of the St. Lawrence having closed, a portion of the troops came overland through New Brunswick. The country sprang to arms. Volunteer military companies were organized, home guards enrolled, and large sums of money contributed to defend, if need were, the honour and dignity of the empire.

Amid these public agitations came the startling intelligence of the death of Prince Albert, the wise and noble consort of our beloved and honoured Queen, December fifteenth. The nation's sympathy with the widowed sovereign was profound and sincere. A prudent counsellor, a loving husband, a high-minded man, the Queen, after fifteen years of widowhood, continues to mourn his loss with almost the poignancy of her first grief.

With the close of the year the war cloud which menaced the country was dissipated, by the surrender of Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the captured commissioners, to the British government.

A new parliament met in Quebec on the twenty-first of March—a general election having taken place during recess. The conflict of parties was renewed with the utmost vigour. The defence of the provinces against the growing military power of the United States, was a question of considerable difficulty. The Imperial authorities, feeling that in case of the rupture of peace Canada would become the battle ground, had devised a comprehensive system of fortification. The cost of the extensive works at Quebec was to be defrayed by the Home Government, and that of the works at Montreal and places west of it was to be paid from the provincial treasury. The people of Canada, while willing to make any effort for national defence that they thought commensurate with their ability, shrank from largely increasing their heavy indebtedness by undertaking military

works which they considered too extensive and costly for their means, and of the necessity for which they were by no means convinced. The volunteer movement was vigorously sustained, and rifle competitions contributed to the efficiency of the corps ; but the feeling of the country, in opposition to the fortification scheme, found expression in an adverse vote of the House on the ministerial militia bill.

The bill was defeated by a vote of sixty-one to fifty-four. The ministry forthwith resigned, and Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald was called upon to form a new cabinet.* Mr. Macdonald, with whom was associated as leader of the Lower Canadian section of the new ministerial party Mr. Sicotte, announced as the policy of his administration the observance of the double-majority principle in all measures affecting locally either province ; a readjustment of the representation of Upper and Lower Canada respectively, without, however, adopting the principle of representation by population ; and an increase of revenue and protection of manufactures by a revised customs tariff. He also promised retrenchment of public expenditure, vigorous departmental reforms, and an amended militia bill instead of the one by which the late Government had fallen. This comprehensive programme to a large degree was received with public favour, but the failure to assert the principle of representation by population in the readjustment of seats, was vigorously denounced by the *Toronto Globe*.

The parliamentary rejection of the Macdonald-Cartier militia bill created an impression in Great Britain that the Canadians were unwilling to bear the burden of self-defence — an erroneous conception, which the military enthusiasm of the country during the late *Trent* difficulty ought to have prevented. The thorough loyalty of the people was shown by the liberal militia bill of the following session.

In the month of September the Governor-General made a progress through Western Canada, and everywhere won

* The new ministry was composed of Messrs. John Sandfield Macdonald, Adam Wilson, Michael Foley, James Morris, William McDougall, and Mr. Howland, for Upper Canada ; and for Lower Canada, Messrs. Sicotte, Abbot McGee, Dorion, Tessier and Evanturel.

golden opinions by his frank and affable manners, and by his manifested sympathy with all objects of public interest.

Two veteran Canadian politicians, during the summer, passed away—the gallant Sir Allan McNab, and his Reform contemporary, the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, the projector of the Welland Canal.

The continuance of the American war was attended with great commercial advantage to Canada. The prolonged hostilities greatly decreased the productive industry of the United States, and created an immense drain upon the national resources. Canadian horses were in especial demand for remounts for the Union cavalry and for the artillery. The country was also denuded of its surplus live stock and farm produce, and in fact of every marketable commodity, at highly remunerative prices. The resulting financial prosperity, in which all industrial classes shared, enabled the people to discharge the indebtedness which many had incurred through rash speculation or lavish expenditure. It was observed that “the prosperous years which now followed were distinguished by an unusually small amount of litigation, while money lenders no longer reaped the abundant harvest they had hitherto enjoyed. This gratifying condition of affairs,” it was further remarked, “tended also to a diminution of crime, the volume of which, however, had always been very limited in the country. The war had already absorbed the more unquiet spirits of the population, and the ample employment and high wages which prevailed led, in addition, to light calendars in the courts of justice.”

In their prosperity Canadians did not forget the adversity of their suffering fellow-subjects in Great Britain, who were enduring extreme privation from the cotton famine, consequent on the closing of the ports of the Southern Confederacy, from which the raw staple of their industry was derived. Generous contributions for the relief of their necessities exhibited at once the patriotism and philanthropy of the donors.

Canada also achieved distinction by the very creditable exhibition of her raw material and manufactured products at the World's Fair at London, where she carried

off, from all competitors, numerous prizes. Attention was also conspicuously drawn to the country as a profitable field for investments and for emigration, and to its vast resources.

Parliament met in Quebec early in February, and the 1863 agitation for the increased representation of Upper Canada was renewed. Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron moved an amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the throne, in favour of direct representation by population; and Mr. John Hillyard Cameron moved a resolution in favour of giving an increased representation to Upper Canada with the existing number of members of parliament. Both of these propositions were defeated by the solid Lower Canadian vote; but public opinion in Upper Canada was daily becoming stronger in favour of a more equitable adjustment of the representation. The ministry was evidently losing popularity, and a large deficit in the revenue, notwithstanding increased taxation, still further contributed to undermine their position.

At length, May first, Mr. John A. Macdonald moved a direct vote of want of confidence, and after a spirited debate of four days, the Government was defeated by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-nine. They resolved to appeal to the country, and on the twelfth of May the House was prorogued, and shortly after dissolved.

In order to propitiate the dissatisfied section of the Reform party, and to win a larger support, Mr. Macdonald reconstructed his cabinet, by the substitution of seven new members* of supposed greater popularity, in place of eight who were superseded.

This course was assailed as unconstitutional, inasmuch as the Government was essentially a different one from that in whose favour the dissolution had been granted. It therefore brought him little accession of strength, and converted into active opponents some of his former supporters.

The parliament reassembled after the election on the thirteenth of August. The debate on the address dragged

* Messrs. Blair, Mowat, Holton, Laframboise, Thibaudau, St. Just and Huntingdon. Of his former colleagues he retained only three—Messrs. Dorion, Howland and Macdougall.

its slow length along for fourteen days. The ministry had to meet the recriminations of its former members, Messrs. Foley, Sicotte and McGee. On the vote being taken, it was found that the ministers had a majority of only three.

The financial exhibit, too, was not very encouraging. The public debt had grown to seventy million dollars, with a deficit, since 1857, of twelve millions. An additional revenue of two million dollars was required in order to meet the annual expenditure. This necessity made the position of the Government more critical. It managed, however, to get through the session without defeat.

The political outlook was not very reassuring. Much irritation was felt in the United States toward Great Britain, on account of the devastation caused by the *Alabama* and *Florida*, and other Confederate cruisers. These piratical vessels, as the people of the North regarded them, constructed by British ship-builders, and equipped by British merchants, had captured and destroyed hundreds of American ships, and had almost swept American commerce from the seas.

The Union armies, however, by sheer force of numbers and an unlimited supply of war *materiel*, were steadily crushing out the Southern rebellion, notwithstanding a heroic resistance worthy of a better cause.

A gleam of sunshine was thrown over the somewhat sombre condition of public affairs during the year, by the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the lovely and amiable Alexandra, Princess of Denmark, which had taken place on the nineteenth of March. The recent visit of the Prince gave an enhanced interest throughout Canada in the auspicious event, with the rejoicings at which the whole country heartily sympathized.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CONFEDERATION MOVEMENT.

1864. The Macdonald-Dorion Ministry resign.
The Taché-Macdonald Ministry formed and defeated.
A Dead-lock ensues—A COALITION MINISTRY FORMED to bring about the Confederation of the Provinces.
Southern Refugees in Canada seize American Steamers on Lake Erie, and plunder Banks at St. Alban's.
Canadian Government guards frontier.
The growth of Confederation sentiment.
CHARLOTTETOWN AND QUEBEC CONFERENCES discuss the subject.
The advantages of the project.
1865. THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT ADOPTS THE CONFEDERATION SCHEME.
Anti-Confederation Movement in the Maritime Provinces.
CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR—SLAVERY ABOLISHED.
Assassination of President Lincoln—Canadian sympathy.
Death of Sir E. P. Taché and Lord Palmerston.
The Seat of Government removed to Ottawa.

PARLIAMENT again assembled at Quebec, February nineteenth. During the recess the ministry had still further lost ground. Mr. Macdougall openly renounced the principle of representation by population as impracticable, and Mr. Richards, who had been assigned the vacant office of Solicitor-General in the cabinet, was badly beaten on his appeal to his constituents for reëlection. The ministry finding themselves without a working majority, soon resigned.

Mr. Blair, the Provincial Secretary of the late administration, was requested to construct a new cabinet, but failed in the attempt. Sir E. P. Taché, a leading Lower Canadian Conservative, now essayed the difficult task, with better success.* The programme of the new administration promised a vigorous militia policy, a commercial union with the maritime provinces, and an earnest effort to maintain reciprocity with the United States, which that country had threatened to abrogate. The vexed

* It embraced the following members:—Sir E. P. Taché, and Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Chapais, McGee and Langevin, for Lower Canada; and for Upper Canada, Messrs. John A. Macdonald, Campbell, Buchanan, Foley, Simpson and Cockburn.

question of representation remained unsettled, the fruitful source of future difficulty. The new ministry had a very slight majority, and within three months was defeated by a vote of sixty to fifty-eight.

Political affairs were now at a dead-lock. Parties were so equally balanced that neither could carry on the government of the country against the opposition of the other. Every constitutional method of solving the difficulty had been exhausted. Dissolution of parliament and change of ministry brought no relief. The application of the double-majority principle was found impracticable, and representation by population under existing conditions was unattainable. The solution of the difficulty was found in the adoption of the "joint-authority" scheme, so long resisted, ridiculed and voted down.

The Conservative leaders made overtures to the Opposition for the formation of a coalition ministry, for the purpose of carrying out the project of the confederation of the British North American provinces, with a federal government of the whole, and local legislatures for the several provinces. Mr. Brown therefore entered the cabinet as President of the Council, and associated with him, as representatives of the Reform party, Mr. William Macdougall as Provincial Secretary, and Mr. Oliver Mowat as Postmaster-General. This coalition was very generally received with extreme satisfaction, as a deliverance from the bitter strife of parties which had so long distracted the country.

Contemporary events now demonstrated the necessity for a strong government. The continued successes of the Northern armies in the fratricidal conflict in the United States, made Canada the asylum of many Southern refugees. Disregarding the sacred rights of hospitality, these refugees organized successive raids upon the Northern States from the territory which gave them shelter—careless whether they embroiled a neutral country in war with her powerful neighbour, or probably anxious to bring about a collision between the North and Great Britain.

In the month of September, a gang of Southern desperadoes seized two American steamers on Lake Erie, with the design of releasing the Confederate prisoners on

Johnson's Island, and of destroying the shipping on the lake. The attempt was ineffectual; but a more successful hostile effort was made on the Lower Canadian frontier about a month later. A body of twenty-three refugees attacked the banks of St. Alban's, in Vermont, and hastily retreated across the border with \$233,000 of ill-gotten booty, having added the crime of murder to that of robbery. Fourteen of the raiders were arrested, but were subsequently discharged by Judge Coursel, of Montreal. The illegal surrender to them of \$90,000 of the stolen money—which the Canadian Government had subsequently to repay—and the growing sympathy for the South of a portion of the Canadian press and people, embittered the relations between the two countries, and contributed largely to the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty, which soon took place. To prevent a repetition of these raids, the Canadian Government distributed a patrol force of thirty volunteer companies along the more exposed points of the frontier. An "Alien Act" was also passed, enabling the executive summarily to arrest suspicious characters.

Meanwhile the subject of colonial confederation was attracting increased attention in the British North American provinces. It was felt to be the true solution of the legislative difficulty, and the best measure for national defence. The Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had already been discussing the project of a legislative union of the maritime provinces, and a conference of delegates for the promotion of the scheme, under the sanction of the Colonial Office, was arranged to be held at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, during this summer (1864).

With the purpose of urging the more comprehensive scheme of the confederation of all the provinces, the Canadian Government expressed a wish to be represented at that conference, and was cordially invited to send delegates. The larger scheme seems to have completely swallowed up the narrower one, and a conference of delegates from all the British North American colonies was appointed to be held at Quebec in October. The western delegates to the Charlottetown convention made, by invitation, a progress through New Brunswick and Nova

Scotia, and were everywhere received with banquets, balls, and hospitable demonstrations, which gave a social impulse to the projected union.

On the tenth of October the Quebec conference began its sessions in a chamber of the Parliament buildings, in the ancient capital. Thirty-three delegates were present, representing the leading members of the political parties of all the provinces. The deliberations continued for seventeen days. Many conflicting interests had to be harmonized, and many local difficulties removed. At length a general plan was agreed upon, and resolutions adopted as the basis of an Act of Confederation. These resolutions were to be submitted to the different legislatures for adoption, without alteration of form; but the scheme was not to be published till the time for legislative action should arrive.

The general outline of the scheme, however, soon became divulged. It was published in a Prince Edward Island newspaper, and was soon widely known. It was for the most part received with very great favour. It was regarded as the germ of a new and vigorous national life. The bonds of a common allegiance to the sovereign, and of common sympathies and interests, were recognized. The constraints of local impediments to free intercolonial trade were felt to be increasingly irksome. The differences of productions and industries of the several provinces made their union seem all the more necessary for the greater prosperity of all. The wheat fields and lumber interests of Canada needed, and were needed by, the fisheries and mines and shipping of the maritime provinces. The magnificent waterways of the West furnished unrivalled facilities for commercial relations with the East; but the lack of a winter seaport made the intercolonial railway, and the harbours of St. John and Halifax, necessary to the development of Canadian trade.

A federal central government also promised to lift politics from the level of a jealous conflict between parties into that of a patriotic ambition for the prosperity of the whole country and for the development of a vigorous national life; and the local legislatures offered a guarantee of the self-control of the domestic affairs of each province. The long-continued demand of Upper Canada for repre-

sensation by population would be granted in the constitution of the central parliament, and the jealousy of the French population of Lower Canada for their religion, language and laws, would be appeased by their numerical representation in their local legislature.

Nevertheless, considerable opposition was at first manifested towards the scheme, especially in the maritime provinces. The preponderant influence of the more populous provinces was feared, and several of the numerous details of the Quebec scheme, which was presented for acceptance without modification, were regarded with strong objection. Thus an anti-confederation agitation arose, and was long and vehemently maintained, in the press, on the platform, and at the polls.

On the third of February the Canadian parliament met
1865 at Quebec. The resolutions on confederation, which had been adopted by the Quebec conference of the previous year, were submitted by Sir E. P. Taché in the Legislative Council, and by the Hon. John A Macdonald in the Assembly. After protracted debate—the report of which fills a volume of over a thousand pages—Mr. Macdonald moved the appointment of a committee to draft an address to the Queen on the subject of the union of all the British North American provinces.* Four several motions in opposition to confederation were defeated by large majorities; the original motion was carried by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three; and a strong deputation proceeded to England to confer with the Imperial authorities for the carrying out of the project of confederation.

In New Brunswick in the meantime a general election had taken place, and an assembly highly adverse to confederation had been returned. Not a single man who had been a delegate at the Quebec conference was elected. In Nova Scotia the anti-confederation agitation was strongly pressed by Joseph Howe, the leader of the Opposition. The friends of the movement in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were disheartened, and it seemed as though the scheme would be wrecked almost before it was fairly launched.

* The committee was composed of Messrs. J. A. Macdonald, Brown, Galt, Cartier, Robitaille and Haultain.

The chief contest took place in New Brunswick. The Legislative Council was as strongly in favour of confederation as the Assembly was opposed to it. The scheme was received with great favour by the Imperial authorities, and despatches from the Colonial Office strongly urged its adoption. These despatches were not without their influence on public opinion in New Brunswick, and as the advantages of the proposed union became, through fuller discussion, more apparent, the tide of feeling began to turn in its favour.

The long and terrible civil war in the United States was now drawing to a close. The immense military strength of the North at length fairly crushed out the Southern revolt. General Lee, with his war-worn army, surrendered (April ninth); Jefferson Davis, the ill-starred president of the confederacy, was captured; and slavery was dead. Generals Grant and Sherman were hailed as the champions of the republic. But this hour of the nation's triumph was dashed with horror and grief by the cowardly and cruel murder of its civic head—the simple, honest, magnanimous Abraham Lincoln. All christendom shuddered with abhorrence at the foul assassination. The heart of Canada was deeply stirred. Crowded meetings for the expression of the national sympathy were held, and the utmost detestation of the crime was avowed. Amid the tolling of bells, flags at half mast, and mourning emblems, the obsequies of the martyred president were celebrated throughout the land; and much of the growing estrangement of recent years between the two nations was overcome by this exhibition of popular sympathy and good will.

During the month of June a disastrous fire swept the crowded wooden suburbs of Quebec, destroying a million dollars' worth of property, and leaving three thousand people homeless. The same month witnessed the decease of the premier of Canada, Sir E. P. Taché. He was succeeded in office by Sir Narcissus Belleau, a member of the Upper House, and on the eighth of August the parliament met in Quebec for the purpose of receiving the report of the deputation sent to Great Britain to promote the scheme of confederation. The session was short, and little opposition was offered to the ministerial

measures deemed necessary for the consummation of the grand design which was to become the epoch of a new and ampler national career.

In the month of October the veteran English premier, Lord Palmerston, also died ; but the policy of the British Government with respect to confederation underwent no change.

Towards the close of the year the seat of government was removed from Quebec to Ottawa, where the new parliament buildings, then approaching completion, were to become the home of a legislature still more august than that for which they were originally designed.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE FENIAN INVASION.—1866.

Negotiations for the renewal of Reciprocity fail.

In connection therewith the Hon. George Brown leaves the Ministry.

The American Fiscal Policy.

The abrogation of the Treaty stimulates Canadian manufactures, and leads to increased intercolonial trade.

THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD encouraged by the political factions of the United States.

It collects arms, ammunition and men on the frontier.

Ten thousand volunteers called out.

Fenian fiasco at Campo Bello.

Fenian plan of operations.

O'NEIL INVADES CANADA FROM BUFFALO, June 1st.

THE COUNTRY SPRINGS TO ARMS—Troops concentrate on Fort Erie.

THE FIGHT AT RIDGEWAY—Gallantry of volunteers—Colonel Dennis occupies Fort Erie—His command is captured by O'Neil—The Fenians escape across the Niagara.

A SUNDAY OF EXCITEMENT IN CANADA—THE MARTYRS OF RIDGEWAY—Their funeral, and honours paid their memory.

Loyal enthusiasm of the volunteers.

The Fenians threaten Prescott and Cornwall.

The United States authorities at last interfere.

"General" Spear crosses the frontier of Lower Canada—He is promptly repulsed, June 8th—End of the bandit invasion—Its political effects.

Last Parliament of "Old Canada" meets at Ottawa, June 8th.

It revises the Tariff and prepares for Confederation.

THE reciprocity treaty between the United States and 1866 Canada was now approaching the period of its expiration by effluxion of time. It had been of immense commercial advantage to both countries. Under its provisions the international trade had grown to the enormous value of seventy million dollars annually. The United States Government, however, refused to grant its renewal except under conditions highly disadvantageous to Canada. The Canadian ministry were willing to make considerable concessions to the United States, and even to accept legislative reciprocity if the continuance of the treaty could not be secured. The Hon. George Brown, however, objected to a reciprocity which

was liable to abrogation at any time by the vote of a selfish and fickle congress, and thought the concessions demanded not warranted under the circumstances. In consequence of this disagreement of opinion with his colleagues he retired from the cabinet, and was succeeded by the Hon. Ferguson Blair.

Mr. Howe, the delegate from Nova Scotia to the trade convention at Detroit during the summer of 1865, had made a profound impression by his eloquent exposition of the mutual advantages of reciprocity; but the effect was only transient. The exigencies of the American government, and the delusion on the part of at least some members of congress, that Canada could be thus coerced into seeking annexation with the United States, overrode every effort for the continuance of the treaty. The vast indebtedness incurred by the war led to the adoption of a high customs tariff for revenue purposes, afterwards increased for the protection of the manufacturing interests. It was therefore considered necessary that the volume of trade flowing from Canada should pay the same proportionate duty as was levied on that coming from other foreign countries.

Before the termination of the treaty, which took place in the month of March, the provinces were drained of nearly all their surplus live stock and farm produce. The capacity of the railroads and steam ferries was taxed to the utmost in their transport. The stoppage of the trade, therefore, was not nearly so disastrous as was anticipated; and there were many counterbalancing advantages to the country resulting from its interruption. It greatly stimulated the development of Canadian manufactures and the growth of foreign and intercolonial commerce, and promoted the scheme of confederation. The lumber trade, the most important in the country, and absorbing more capital in its operations than any other, suffered very slightly, if at all. The chief inconvenience fell upon the American consumers, who had to pay higher prices for lumber and other indispensable necessities. The subsequent stagnation in the lumber trade, which still exists (1876), in which \$20,000,000 is locked up, was the result of over-production both in Canada and the United States. New England suffered largely by the

loss of the Canadian supplies of wool and other raw products, as well as of cheap provisions for her manufacturing population, and also by the restriction of the Canadian sales of their manufactured products. Instead of promoting annexation, the abrogation of the treaty had precisely the opposite effect. It opened new avenues of trade and industry, and convinced the Canadians of their ability to prosper without depending so largely on commercial intercourse with the United States, and fostered a spirit of patriotism and nationality.

This spirit was still further promoted by contemporaneous events. The hostile demonstrations of the Fenian brotherhood caused considerable alarm along the frontier, and provoked just indignation against United States officials who, for political purposes, fostered this infamous organization, and pandered to the unreasoning prejudices and antipathies of its members.

The ostensible object of this armed conspiracy was the liberation of Ireland from English rule, and the avenging of its ancient wrongs. As a means to that end, although the relevancy is not very apparent, the conquest of Canada was proposed, and multitudes of infatuated "patriots" contributed large amounts of money and formed local organizations in the chief American cities and frontier towns. Gangs of reckless desperadoes created by the civil war, and even some leaders of higher rank and of considerable military skill and experience, on the return of peace, finding their occupation gone, joined the lawless movement. The arms, equipments and military stores of the disbanded United States armies being thrown upon the market, large quantities were purchased at a low rate and stored at points convenient for the invasion of Canada.

In order to secure the Irish vote, the rival political factions of the United States shamefully abetted this conspiracy against the peace and prosperity of an unoffending neighbouring country, and permitted the public parade and drilling of this army of invasion, not only without censure but with their active coöperation. Prominent civic and other officials in the United States harangued the meetings, subscribed to the funds, and encouraged the nefarious designs of the Fenian brotherhood.

The plan of operations of this pernicious organization was twofold. The first scheme proposed a combined attack, at several points of the frontier, on Canada, where, it was asserted, the Irish "patriots" had many sympathizers. The other and still more insane plan contemplated a direct attack upon Ireland. The former was promoted by "President" Roberts and "General" Sweeney; the latter by a rival section of the brotherhood, under the leadership of "Head Centre" Stephens and "Colonel" O'Mahony.

Saint Patrick's day, the seventeenth of March, was announced as the date of the menaced invasion. The Canadian Government responded to the insolent threat by calling out ten thousand volunteers. The heart of the country was thrilled to its core. In four and twenty hours fourteen thousand of its sons sprang to arms to build a living bulwark with their bodies for its protection, and multitudes of Canadians dwelling in the United States hastened home to take part in its defence. The exposed points were promptly garrisoned and the frontier was vigilantly guarded.

Saint Patrick's day, however, passed without any disturbance of the peace, and with even less than its usual amount of bannered pomp and patriotic demonstration.

In the month of April a foolish attempt, which ended in a ridiculous fiasco, was made by a handful of ill-equipped would-be warriors against the New Brunswick frontier. The presence of a few regulars and volunteers at Campo Bello, St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's, so cooled their martial enthusiasm that they did not venture to cross the boundary line. The theft of a custom house flag was duly chronicled as the gallant capture of British colours, and won a little cheap popularity till the discovery of the facts made the actors in the farce the laughing-stock of the continent.

By the middle of May, the invasion having seemingly exhausted itself in futile threats, a considerable proportion of the volunteer force were withdrawn from the frontier and allowed to return to their homes. But secret preparations were being made for a number of simultaneous attacks on Canada. One expedition from Detroit, Chicago, and other western cities, was directed against

the Lake Huron frontier; another, from Buffalo and Rochester, was to cross the Niagara River; a third, from New York and the eastern cities, was to cross the St. Lawrence at Ogdensburg, sever the communication between the eastern and western portions of the country at Prescott, and menace the seat of government at Ottawa. Meanwhile the right wing of the invading force was to harass and plunder the frontier settlements of the Eastern townships. The result of these grand schemes was singularly incommensurate with their magnitude.

The main attack was on the Niagara frontier. The city of Buffalo swarmed with lawless ruffians, from Cleveland, Sandusky, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, and even from as far south as Memphis, Tennessee; and before daylight on Friday, June first, some twelve or fourteen hundred of them, under the command of "General" O'Neil, crossed from Black Rock and took possession of the village of Fort Erie. Although the United States gunboat *Michigan* patrolled the river for the ostensible purpose of preventing a breach of international peace, yet O'Neil was undisturbed in this movement, and was during the day reënforced by three hundred men. He was, however, utterly disappointed in any Canadian demonstration of sympathy, if such were expected. The rolling stock of the Buffalo branch of the Grand Trunk Railway had been withdrawn, but a portion of the track was destroyed, a bridge burned, and the telegraph wires cut. During the night or very early on Saturday morning, O'Neil, leaving a guard at Fort Erie to cover his retreat, advanced ten miles south-westward towards the Welland Canal, probably with the intention of destroying the locks and cutting the railway. He halted under cover of some woods near the village of Ridgeway, and threw up a slight breastwork of logs and rails.

Meanwhile the tidings of the invasion thrilled the entire country. The volunteers rushed to arms, mustering in force with the utmost promptitude at their several places of assembly, and active preparations were made for the repulse of the enemy. The steamboats *Passport* and *City of Toronto* were at once reserved for military purposes, and the railway companies were notified that the lines leading to the frontier must be placed at the disposal

of the military authorities. The volunteers of Toronto, Hamilton, and other places near the scene of action, promptly mustered in force, and were despatched amid the utmost loyal enthusiasm of the people, by train or steamer to the appointed places of rendezvous. The Queen's Own Rifle Brigade, a Toronto volunteer corps, the Thirteenth Battalion of Hamilton, and the York and Caledonia volunteers, under command of Colonel Booker, concentrated on Friday evening, June first, at Port Colborne, at the Lake Erie entrance to the Welland Canal.

Colonel Peacock, with a thousand volunteers and seven hundred and fifty regulars, with a battery of artillery, took post, late the same night, at the historic village of Chippewa, near the Falls of Niagara.

Early on Saturday morning Colonel Booker's force, ignorant of O'Neil's whereabouts, were conveyed by train to Ridgeway, and thence advanced towards Limeridge, with the intention of joining Peacock's command. About eight o'clock they discovered the enemy securely posted among the trees on a rising ground. The Queen's Own were thrown out as skirmishers, and gallantly drove in O'Neil's advance line. The volunteers pressed the enemy steadily back for more than a mile under a heavy fire. Some mounted Fenians now came in sight, and under the apprehension that a force of cavalry was at hand, the order was given to form squares. The advance skirmishers, having exhausted their ammunition, also retired on their supports. This double movement threw the volunteer troops into confusion, soon converted into a retreat, which, however, was gallantly covered by the Queen's Own and the Thirteenth Battalion, who kept up a cool and steady fire on the ranks of the advancing enemy. In this disastrous affair seven Toronto volunteers—the brave Ensign McEachren and six privates of the regiment, some of them mere lads—were murderously slain, and four officers and nineteen men wounded, some of whom afterwards died from injuries received. The loss of the Fenian horde is unknown, as they buried their dead upon the field of conflict, and at once retreated on Fort Erie. There is reason to believe, however, that it was greater than that which they inflicted.

Colonel Dennis meanwhile had occupied the village of Fort Erie with a force of seventy men, conveyed in a

tug-boat from Port Colborne, and had captured the Fenian guard of sixty men. These he confined on board the tug-boat, which was employed to patrol the river and prevent the arrival of Fenian reënforcements.

Colonel Dennis' handful of men was in turn overpowered by O'Neil's command, more than tenfold his number, which had now returned. It captured forty and wounded thirteen of the volunteers, but not till the latter had inflicted a loss of five killed and several wounded on the enemy.

During the night four hundred armed ruffians left Buffalo to reënforce the invaders, and many more swarmed in the lowest purlieus of the city, ready to ravage and pillage the peaceful inhabitants of Canada in retaliation for the alleged wrongs of Ireland. O'Neil, however, found that the conquest of Canada was not the mere holiday campaign he seems to have imagined it. Instead of any sympathy with his visionary and wicked designs, he found the inhabitants, almost to a man, loyal to the institutions of their country. He was now anxious, with his misguided dupes, to escape, however ignominiously, from the country he had so wantonly invaded, before he should be surrounded by the advancing force of Canadian volunteers. He therefore ordered back the reënforcements already on their way from Buffalo, and during the darkness stole across the river with the bulk of his force in canal boats, tugs, skiffs, and every available means of transport, some even on planks torn up from the wharves. His own pickets, and all his Canadian prisoners, were left behind, as well as the dead and wounded.

On Sunday morning Colonel Peacock's advance guard marched into Fort Erie, but were only in time to capture a number of Fenian stragglers. Others of the marauding banditti skulked through the neighbouring woods till they could escape across the border.

That Sabbath day was one of unwonted excitement throughout Canada. In many of the churches bulletins announcing the names of the killed and wounded were read from the pulpits. In the cities hospital supplies were collected, and patriotic women met to prepare lint and ambulance necessities. All day long the telegraph wires continued to flash intelligence of alarm or reassurance.

The streets were thronged, the printing offices were besieged by anxious multitudes, and the presses could not print the successive bulletins fast enough to supply the eager demand.

Towards evening the city of Toronto was moved by a common sorrow as it never was moved before, as the bodies of her slaughtered sons were received in grief-bespeaking silence by an immense concourse of the citizens. Two days later they were borne, amid wailing music, waving plumes, and funeral pageantry, and with the mourning of a multitude who felt as if each had lost a brother or a son, to their early graves. A grateful and sorrowing nation has commemorated their valour and fidelity by a beautiful and costly monument, erected near those halls of learning from which many of them had gone forth, in the flush of youth and hope, to lay their lives in sacrifice upon the altar of their country's need. Their names are inscribed in enduring marble, and the memory of their heroic death shall be the imperishable inspiration to patriotism of successive generations of the ingenuous youth of Canada.

The country was now thoroughly aroused. A spontaneous outburst of patriotic fervour was manifested throughout its entire extent. The volunteers were called out in force, and were massed at convenient centres from which to move to whatever point seemed menaced with attack. At the military depôts long railway trains, laden with batteries of artillery, and with shot, shell and other war *materiel*, stood on the sidings, awaiting, with steam up, the summons to the point of danger. Cavalry and infantry marched through the streets to the sound of martial music, with all the pomp and circumstance of war. Hundreds of Canadian youth employed in the United States threw up their engagements, and hastened home to defend their native land.

Several points on the frontier were threatened with invasion. A large body of Fenians assembled at Ogdensburg, as if for a dash across the St. Lawrence and a raid upon the capital. But two thousand regular and volunteer troops, rapidly massed at Prescott, and a gun-boat which patrolled the river, effectually prevented an attack.

The would-be invaders now moved eastward to Malone, opposite Cornwall; but a force of three thousand Canadian troops at the latter point made them prudently desist from their designs. There was now a hostile force of five thousand armed men on the frontier of a professedly friendly country, only prevented from invading Canadian soil and harassing and ravaging Canadian farms and villages by the vigilance and valour of their inhabitants. The spirited remonstrance of the British minister at Washington, compelled the United States Government at length to interfere and restrain this wanton violation of international right and comity. General Meade, an able and honest United States officer, seized a large quantity of Fenian arms, ammunition and military stores at Ogdensburg, and effectually paralyzed the movements of the marauders.

On the eighth June, however, "General" Spear, with some two thousand Fenian ruffians, crossed the frontier near St. Alban's, and took up a position three miles from the border. They forthwith began to plunder and ravage the neighbourhood, but the prompt rally of the Canadian forces compelled them to retreat precipitately to the sheltering territory of the United States, where they were disarmed and dispersed by General Meade.

So ended in ignominy and disgrace to all its actors, aiders and abettors, the wanton, infatuated and unprovoked Fenian invasion of Canada. The result was not an unmixed evil. The expense to the country of the transport and maintenance of troops—of whom forty thousand volunteers alone were at one time under arms—and the cost of guarding its extensive frontier, was great. The sacrifice of precious lives was irreparable and lamentable; but the glow of patriotic enthusiasm which was kindled in the hearts of the people made the country realize its strength, and developed a national feeling that was a guarantee of its ability to assume the new and important national duties to which it was about to be summoned.

On the same day that the gallant Hochelaga Voltigeurs were repelling invasion from the eastern frontier (June eighth), the legislature of the country was opened in the

new parliament buildings at Ottawa. The Habeas Corpus Act was temporarily suspended, in order to enable the Government to deal promptly with Fenian emissaries from the United States, and other suspicious characters. The abrogation of the reciprocity treaty necessitated the remodelling of the tariff. The maximum duty was fixed at fifteen per cent., with free admission of raw materials used in manufactures, and the bulk of manufactured goods were admitted at the low rate of five per cent. The prosperity of the previous year left in the hands of the Finance Minister a surplus adequate to meet the unforeseen and heavy military expenditure caused by the Fenian raids. Resolutions were passed defining the constitutions of Upper and Lower Canada, in furtherance of the scheme of confederation; and on the eighteenth of August, the last parliament of the old Canadian provinces was prorogued.

During this summer the *Great Eastern* steamship laid a new Atlantic telegraph cable—a remarkable example of the application of human skill and ingenuity to the higher purposes of civilization. Among its earliest messages was one announcing an armistice between Prussia and Austria, after the terrible seven days' campaign and decisive battle of Sadowa, won, with frightful carnage, for the Prussians by the agency of the deadly needle-gun.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONFEDERATION ACCOMPLISHED.

- 1866.** The Monroe Doctrine—General Banks' Bill in U. S. Congress.
Disastrous fire at Quebec.
Fenian Trials at Toronto.
The Maritime Provinces become more favourable to Confederation.
- 1867.** The BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT passes the Imperial Parliament, March 28th.
Provisions of the New Constitution—The Dominion Parliament—
Legislative Representation—Respective Jurisdiction of the Dominion and Provinces—The Judiciary—Customs, etc.
Local Legislatures.
INAUGURATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, July 1st.
Titles of Honour Conferred—First Cabinet.
Elections—Failure of Commercial Bank.
- 1868.** ASSASSINATION OF THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE, M.P., April 7th.
Sir John Young, Governor-General, *vice* Lord Monck.
Anti-Confederation Agitation in Nova Scotia—Petition for Repeal of the Union—Petition Refused.
"BETTER TERMS" Granted Nova Scotia—Hon. Joseph Howe enters Dominion Cabinet.

THE formation of a strong and united nation on their northern border was regarded with little favour by American advocates of the Monroe doctrine. They seemed to consider it the natural right and manifest destiny of the United States to claim the "whole boundless continent" as its own. Finding that commercial coercion and Fenian invasion did not drive the loyal and patriotic Canadians into the arms of the model republic, the attempt was made to divide and cajole the British North American provinces. In the United States Congress, General Banks, an irrepressible Massachusetts "statesman," had the eminent impertinence to introduce a bill, providing for the admission into the American Union of the British provinces as four separate states, with the assumption of their public debt by the Federal Government. The committee on foreign affairs, however, had the good sense to throw out the proposition as an insulting menace, and the British North American colonies were wisely

allowed to settle their own political destiny without foreign interference.

The ancient capital of Canada was again visited during the summer by one of those disastrous fires from which it has so often suffered. Over two thousand houses in the suburbs of St. Roch and St. Sauveur were destroyed, and twenty thousand persons left homeless. Great and permanent injury resulted to the prosperity of the city from the scattering of the industrial population, especially those engaged in ship-building; and the improvement in the navigation of the St. Lawrence, together with the extensive substitution of steamships for sailing vessels, eventually transferred the commercial supremacy to the city of Montreal.

At the fall assizes at Toronto, the trial of the Fenian prisoners, captured during the recent raid, took place, and awakened deep interest throughout the country and in the United States. Many American newspapers and politicians, in their efforts to gain the Fenian vote, did not scruple to avow their sympathy with the arraigned ruffians, and even to urge the interference of the United States Government on their behalf. The majesty of British law was, however, asserted; and the culprits, without fear or favour, received a fair trial. Many were discharged for lack of sufficient criminating evidence, but several were convicted and sentenced to death. In deference to a public sentiment in favour of clemency, this sentence was commuted for one of imprisonment in the provincial penitentiary.

In the maritime provinces the tide of popular feeling had now turned strongly in favour of confederation. In New Brunswick the anti-confederation Government was compelled to resign, and a new parliament, elected with express reference to this question, declared decidedly for it. In Nova Scotia, Mr. Howe's eloquence in condemnation of the scheme lost its spell, and his opposition in the lobbies of the Imperial parliament proved equally futile. The Canadian and maritime delegates met in London, and slightly modified the provisions of the Quebec Resolutions, chiefly in the direction of increasing the subsidies to the local governments.

On the seventh of February, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, introduced the British North

America Act into the House of Lords. After slight modification in the House of Commons, it successfully passed through its different stages, and on the twenty-eighth of March received the royal assent, and became the law of the empire. The following day was passed the Canada Railway Loan Act, which empowered the Imperial Government to guarantee a loan of three million pounds sterling for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, now become a political, as well as a commercial and military necessity for the prosperity of the new nationality.

The Act of Union provides that the Dominion of Canada, as the new nation was named, should consist of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (designated respectively Ontario and Quebec), and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the existing limits of which were to continue undisturbed. Provision was also made for the future admission of Prince Edward Island, the Hudson's Bay Territory, British Columbia, and Newfoundland with its dependency, Labrador.

The following are the chief provisions of the new constitution :

The executive authority is vested in the Queen, in whose name run all legislative Acts, civil processes, and naval and military proclamations.

The Queen's representative in Canada is the Governor-General, who is advised and aided by a Privy Council of thirteen members, constituting the ministry, who must be sustained by a parliamentary majority.

The parliament consists of two chambers, the Senate and the House of Commons.

The Senate was at first to be composed of seventy-two members—twenty-four for each of the three divisions, Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. On the admission of Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British Columbia, that number was increased to seventy-eight, and may be still further increased to a maximum of eighty-two on the admission of Newfoundland. The members are appointed by the Governor-General in Council, representing the Crown, and hold their seats for life, subject to forfeiture in case of bankruptcy, conviction of crime, treason, or taking the oath

of allegiance to any foreign power, or if they shall cease to possess the necessary property qualification—the possession of real estate to the value of four thousand dollars. Residence in the province (or, if inhabitants of Quebec, in the district) for which they are appointed is also required.

The Speaker of the Senate is appointed by the Crown. He may vote on all questions, but when the House is equally divided, he can only give a negative vote.

The House of Commons, as first constituted, consisted of one hundred and eighty-one members: eighty-two for Ontario; sixty-five for Quebec; nineteen for Nova Scotia; and sixteen for New Brunswick. On the readjustment of representation in accordance with the census of 1871, after the admission of Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British Columbia, the number of representatives was increased to two hundred and six.

This representation is subject to future readjustment on the following basis: sixty-five members is to be the fixed number for Quebec; the increased representation of the other provinces is to bear the same proportion to their population as sixty-five bears to that of Quebec. The House of Commons is elected for four years unless sooner dissolved. It elects its own Speaker, who can vote only when the House is equally divided. The debates may be in either English or French; but the proceedings are to be recorded in both languages. The property qualification of members was fixed at five hundred pounds sterling, as was also that for members of the local legislatures of Ontario and Quebec.

All bills affecting taxation or revenue must originate in the House of Commons, and must be recommended by a message from the Governor-General. Bills may receive the assent of the Governor-General directly as representing the Queen, or may be reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure.

The jurisdiction of the Dominion parliament extends over the public debt, expenditure and public loans; treaties; customs and excise duties; trade and commerce; navigation, shipping and fisheries; lighthouses and harbours; the postal, naval, and military services; public

statistics ; monetary institutions, banks, banking, currency, coining, and insolvency ; criminal law, marriage and divorce ; public works, railways and canals. Where there is common jurisdiction with the local legislatures, as in the encouragement of immigration and agriculture, the Acts of the Dominion parliament are of paramount authority, and can, in case of antagonism, supersede the ordinances of the inferior legislatures.

The appointment and maintenance of the Judges of the Superior, District, and County Courts of the several provinces, is the prerogative and duty of the Governor in Council. The judges hold office for life, or till forfeiture for misconduct ; and are selected from the bars of their respective provinces.

The duties and revenues of the several provinces form a consolidated revenue fund, out of which the cost of the public service is defrayed, as well as the subsidies to the provinces, and the specified portions of their debt and special appropriations. All revenues derived from public lands, timber limits, mines and minerals, belong to the several provinces in which they are situated. Between all the provinces of the Dominion there is free trade in all their natural products, raw or manufactured.

The chief executive officer of the several provinces is the Lieutenant-Governor, who is appointed by the Governor-General in Council, acting for the Crown, for the term of four years. The local legislatures were granted constitutions agreeable to the wishes of the respective provinces.

The legislature of Ontario consists of only one chamber, the Legislative Assembly. It was constituted at first with eighty-two members, which number was afterwards increased to eighty-eight, who are elected for four years.

The other local legislatures consist of two chambers, a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. The Acts of the local legislatures may be disallowed by the Governor-General, for sufficient reason, within a year after they have passed.

The local legislatures have jurisdiction over direct taxation ; provincial loans ; the appointment and maintenance of provincial officers ; the management of provincial lands, prisons, hospitals and asylums ; municipal insti-

tutions; local improvements; education; and matters affecting property and civil rights.

On the first of July, the Act of Confederation came into force, and with the parental blessing of the mother country, the Dominion of Canada set forth on its high career. On that day the new constitution was formally inaugurated at Ottawa, and Lord Monck was sworn in as the Governor-General of the confederated provinces. He afterwards signalized Her Majesty's approval of the union by conferring titles of honour on its chief promoters. The Hon. John A. Macdonald, the first premier, received the dignity of knighthood, and the Hon. Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Howland, Macdougall, Tupper, and Tilley, that of Companion of the Bath. Sir N. F. Belleau became Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and Major-General Doyle, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. Military officers administered the government of the other provinces till July, 1868, when the Hon. L. A. Wilmot was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, and the Hon. W. P. Howland, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

The first Privy Council of the Dominion consisted of the following members :

Hon. A. F. J. Blair,	. . .	President.
Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald,	. . .	Minister of Justice.
Hon. H. S. Langevin,	. . .	Secretary of State.
Hon. A. T. Galt,	. . .	Minister of Finance.
Hon. W. Macdougall,	. . .	Minister of Public Works.
Hon. Alex. Campbell,	. . .	Postmaster-General.
Hon. J. C. Chapais,	. . .	Minister of Agriculture.
Hon. E. Kenny,	. . .	Receiver-General.
Hon. Sir George E. Cartier,	. . .	Minister of Militia.
Hon. S. L. Tilley,	. . .	Minister of Customs.
Hon. W. P. Howland,	. . .	Minister of Inland Revenue.
Hon. P. Mitchell,	. . .	Minister of Marine & Fisheries.
Hon. A. G. Archibald,	. . .	Secretary of State for Provinces.

The elections for the Dominion parliament and for the several local legislatures took place during the summer. The Dominion parliament met at Ottawa for the transaction of business on the seventh of November. It was soon apparent that the new order of things was not regarded by all the provinces with unmixed satisfaction. A period of financial depression through which the

country was passing, the severity of which was augmented by the suspension of the Commercial Bank, one of the oldest monetary institutions of the country, became the occasion of severe adverse criticism of the fiscal administration of the Government. In consequence of the censure thus incurred, the Hon. A. T. Galt, Finance Minister, resigned his office, and the Hon. John Rose assumed its duties.

On the seventh of the following April, the country was 1868 thrilled with horror by the barbarous assassination of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee. This eloquent statesman had been one of the ablest and most earnest advocates of confederation, and his death was felt as a national bereavement. He was followed from the House of Commons, in the early hours of the morning, by a Fenian fanatic named Patrick Whelan, and shot while entering his hotel.

The sorrow of the nation was manifested by the imposing obsequies of the murdered statesman, and by its generous sympathy toward his bereaved family. The wretch who had stained the annals of his country with the crime of assassination, was arrested, tried and convicted, and expiated his offence on the gallows.

In the month of November Lord Monck, having witnessed the successful inauguration of the new constitution of the confederated provinces, was succeeded in office by Sir John Young.

Considerable dissatisfaction with the terms of union soon began to be manifested in the province of Nova Scotia. The annual subsidy from the Dominion Government of \$60,000, together with the grant of eighty cents per head for the population according to the census of 1861, was found inadequate for the civil expenses of the government. A strong anti-confederation agitation was therefore kept up, led by the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Hon. Mr. Wilkins, Attorney-General of the province. The first election after the union resulted in the return of a large majority in the local legislature opposed to confederation. A petition was forwarded to the British parliament requesting the repeal of the British North America Act so far as it concerned Nova Scotia, and during the year 1868 Mr. Howe proceeded again to

England to urge the demands of his native province. He was confronted by his countryman, the Hon. Dr. Tupper, the agent and representative of the Dominion Government. The Imperial parliament refused to entertain the proposition of a repeal of the union, but counselled a compromise with the recalcitrant province.

The Dominion Government offered a liberal readjustment of terms with Nova Scotia. The amount of provincial debt assumed by the Dominion was increased from \$8,000,000 to \$9,186,756, and an additional annual subsidy was granted. The cost of the new Provincial Buildings was also assumed. Mr. Howe withdrew his opposition and accepted office in the Dominion Government as President of the Executive Council. This act was bitterly condemned by many of his friends as a breach of trust, and he gained his reelection on his return to his constituents only after a severe contest. The local opposition to the union, however, gradually subsided, and the generous treatment by the sister provinces of the distressed fishermen of Nova Scotia, whose staple industry had proved this year a disastrous failure, also tended to mitigate the anti-confederation feeling.

During this year the Abyssinian war, which had been conducted with great skill and success by General Napier, was brought to a close by the fall of Magdala and death of King Theodore, on the thirteenth of April.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RIVAL FUR COMPANIES—RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ORGANIZED, 1670.

Prolonged conflict with older French Fur Company.

THE NORTH-WEST COMPANY ORGANIZED, 1783.

Its Enterprise and Success—Fort William.

LORD SELKIRK PLANTS RED RIVER COLONY, 1812.

Conflict with North-west Company—Murder of Governor Semple, 1816.

Lord Selkirk captures Fort William.

Disasters at Red River—The Caterpillar Plague.

Lord Selkirk's energy overcomes every difficulty.

The great flood of 1825-6 devastates the Colony.

Ill-advised manufacturing schemes.

HUDSON'S BAY AND NORTH-WEST COMPANIES AMALGAMATE, 1821.

COUNCIL OF ASSINIBOIA ORGANIZED, 1836.

Patriarchal government of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Development of the North-west Territory.

THE extension of the Dominion of Canada so as to embrace within its bounds the whole of the territory of British North America, was the strong desire of the leading Canadian statesmen. To promote this object the Hon. George E. Cartier and the Hon. William Macdougall proceeded to England. A necessary preliminary to this was the cession to Canada of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. It will be convenient here to retrace briefly the history of the great monopoly that for two centuries had controlled those vast, and, in large part, fertile regions of this continent.

In the year 1670, at the solicitation of Prince Rupert* and the Duke of Albemarle, King Charles II. created by royal charter the "Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay." With characteristic lavish liberality the king granted this company the sole trade and commerce of the vast and vaguely defined regions, to which access may be had through Hudson's Straits. Forty years before this, Louis XIII. had made a similar grant to the "Company of New France," and for nearly

* Hence a large portion of this territory was known as Rupert's Land.

a hundred years there was a keen and eager rivalry between these hostile companies. In order to control the lucrative fur trade, the Hudson's Bay Company planted forts and factories at the mouth of the Moose, Albany, Nelson, Churchill, and other rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay. Again and again adventurous bands of Frenchmen, like D'Iberville and his companions,* made bloody raids upon these posts, murdering their occupants, burning the stockades, and carrying off the rich stores of peltries.

Grown bolder with success, the French penetrated the vast interior as far as the head waters of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Saskatchewan, and reached the Rocky Mountains long before any other white men had visited these regions. They planted trading posts and small palisaded forts at important river junctions and on far off lonely lakes, and wrote their names all over this great continent, in the designation of cape and lake and river, and other great features of nature. The *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, to whom this wild, adventurous life was full of fascination, roamed through the forests and navigated the countless arrowy streams; and Montreal and Quebec snatched much of the spoil of this profitable trade from the hands of the English company. Every little far off trading post and stockaded fort felt the reverberations of the English guns which won the victory of the Plains of Abraham, whereby the sovereignty of those vast regions passed away for ever from the possession of France.

After the conquest numerous independent fur traders engaged in this profitable traffic. In 1783 these formed a junction of interests and organized the North-west Company. For forty years this was one of the strongest combinations in Canada. Its energetic agents explored the vast North-west regions. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in 1789, traced the great river which bears his name, and first reached the North Pacific across the Rocky Mountains. In 1808 Simon Frazer descended the gold-bearing stream that perpetuates his memory; and shortly after Thompson explored and named another branch of the same great river.

* See page 64.

Keen was the rivalry with the older Hudson's Bay Company, and long and bitter was the feud between the two great corporations, each of which coveted a broad continent as a hunting ground and preserve for game. The headquarters of the North-west Company were at Fort William, on Lake Superior. Its clerks were mostly young Scotchmen of good families, whose characteristic thrift and fidelity were encouraged by a share in the profits of the Company. The partners of the Company travelled in feudal state, attended by a retinue of boatmen and servants, "obedient as Highland clansmen." The grand councils and banquets in the thick-walled state chamber at Fort William were occasions of lavish pomp and luxury. Sometimes as many as twelve hundred retainers, factors, clerks, *voyageurs* and trappers were assembled, and held for a time high festival, with a strange blending of civilized and savage life.

In the early years of the present century, the feud between the rival companies was at its height. At this time Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, was the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and proprietor of a large proportion of the stock. He was a man of indomitable energy and of dauntless courage. With the skill of an experienced general, he prepared for the strenuous conflict which he felt to be inevitable. He perceived that by obtaining control of the Red River, and erecting a fort at its junction with the Assiniboine, he would have a strong base for future operations, and would possess an immense advantage over his opponents. For this purpose he resolved to establish a colony of his countrymen at that strategic position, the key of the mid-continent. He received from the Company, in furtherance of this project, a grant of sixteen thousand square miles, or over ten-million acres of land, in the neighbourhood of Red River. He built Fort Douglas, the site of which is commemorated in the name of Point Douglas, in the town of Winnipeg. The offer of free grants of land and of sundry special privileges, induced a large number of hardy Highlanders to seek their fortunes in the Far West.

In the year 1812, the first brigade of colonists reached Red River, by way of Hudson's Bay, having spent an

entire winter on the borders of that icy sea. A stern welcome awaited them. Hardly had they arrived at the site of the proposed settlement, when an armed band of Nor'-Westers, plumed and painted in the Indian style, appeared and commanded the colonists to depart. The latter, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to submit, and to take refuge at the Hudson's Bay post at Pembina, within the territory of the United States.

Undaunted by this failure, they returned in the spring of 1813, built log houses, and sowed their wheat. They were undisturbed till the following year. By this time the decree had gone forth from the councils of the Northwest Company :—the colony must be destroyed. It was done, but not without shedding of blood. The settlement became a heap of ashes, its inhabitants exiles in the wilderness.

Reënforced by a new brigade from Scotland, and by a hundred veteran Canadians, the banished settlers returned to their ruined homes. Great hardships ensued. Many of the colonists were forced to abandon the settlement—toiling through the wilderness back to Canada.

But in the following year, 1816, there fell upon the little colony a more crushing blow than any it had yet received. In the month of June, a body of three hundred mounted Nor'-Westers, armed to the teeth and begrimed with war-paint, attacked the settlement. A little band of twenty-eight men went forth to parley. By a volley of the enemy, twenty-one of them were slain, including Mr. Robert Semple, acting Governor of the settlement. The town was sacked and burned, and the wretched inhabitants driven from the blackened embers of their devastated homes.

Lord Selkirk was at New York, on his way to Rupert's Land, when he heard of this attack. He immediately assumed the offensive. The blood of the Douglasses was stirred in his veins. He had with him about a hundred Swiss soldiers, disbanded at the close of the continental war, and a few Glengarry men. With these he hastened by way of Penetanguishene and the north shore of Lakes Huron and Superior to Fort William, dragging with him two small cannon through the wilderness. Here sworn information was laid before him as a Justice of the

Peace by some of the sufferers from the recent outrages, charging certain occupants of the fort with the crime of "larceny, riot, and murder." There were in the neighbourhood of Fort William about three hundred French-Canadians and Indians in the employ of the North-west Company. Selkirk demanded the surrender of the guilty parties, and under cover of his commission as a Justice of the Peace, broke open the gates and took possession of the fort. The prisoners were sent to York (Toronto) for trial, but through incompleteness of evidence were acquitted, and for some time Selkirk held possession of the fort.

With a high-spirited philanthropy, Lord Selkirk sought to give homes on the fertile prairies of Red River to his countrymen who had faithfully served their king through a bloody European war, or who were driven from their ancestral holdings of land by heartless landlords, who, preferring sheep-farming to tenant culture, turned populous estates into a solitude. He again established colonists in the thrice-forsaken settlement, furnishing them with agricultural implements, seed-grain and stock. But the summer was already half gone, the harvest was scanty, famine was impending, and the hapless settlers were again compelled, on the approach of winter, to take refuge at the Hudson's Bay post at Pembina. Their hardships were incredible. They were forced to subsist upon the precarious products of the chase. They suffered everything but death, and were reduced to the utmost extremity.

In the spring the Red River colonists returned for the fifth time to their abandoned habitations. Fortune seemed at last to smile upon their efforts. The crops were ripening around the little settlement; hope beat high in every heart. But an unforeseen catastrophe awaited them. A cloud of grasshoppers—like the Egyptian plague of locusts, more terrible than a destroying army—darkened the air, covered the ground, and in a single night devoured almost every green thing. The land was as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness. It was a piteous sight. Strong men bowed themselves. The sturdy Highlanders, who had gazed on death unblanched, burst into tears as they thought of the famine-

pangs that menaced their wives and little ones. Another weary march and a miserable winter at Pembina was their fate.

Again, in the spring, that forlorn hope returned to their devastated fields. But agriculture was impossible. The grasshoppers of the previous season had left a terrible legacy behind them. Their larvæ multiplied a thousand-fold. They covered the ground, filled the air, polluted the water, and the stench of their dead bodies infected the atmosphere. Pembina must succour the hapless colonists yet another winter.

The story of such uniform disaster becomes wearisome. Any one less determined, less dogged, it might perhaps be said, than Lord Selkirk, would have abandoned the colony. Not so he. His resolution rose with the difficulties of the occasion, and surmounted every obstacle. That little company—the advance guard of the great army of civilization destined yet to fill the land so bravely won—returned to the scene of their blasted hopes. At the cost of five thousand dollars, Lord Selkirk brought two hundred and fifty bushels of seed-wheat from Missouri—a distance of twelve hundred miles. It was sown, and, by the Divine blessing, after eight years of failure, the harvest was happily reaped. Amid such hardships and privations was the Red River settlement planted.

The colony now struck its roots deep into the soil. It grew and flourished year by year. Recruits came from Scotland, from Germany, from Switzerland. They suffered many privations and encountered some disasters, but none worse than that of the winter of 1825-6. It was a season of unprecedented severity. Thirty-three persons perished of hunger and cold, and many cattle died. With the spring thaw the river rose nine feet in a single day. In three days every house had to be abandoned. The inhabitants fled to the highest ground adjacent. They beheld their houses, barns, crops, fences—everything they possessed—swept on the rushing torrent to Lake Winnipeg. The waters continued to rise for nineteen days. The disheartened colonists proposed abandoning for ever the luckless settlement. At this crisis tidings of the abatement of the flood was brought. The weary watchers rushed *en masse* to the water's side. It was

even so. They accepted the deliverance as from God. They resolved to remain where they were. A new beginning had to be made. The unfortunate settlement was well nigh destroyed.

In a somewhat visionary attempt to manufacture cloth from buffaloes' wool, Lord Selkirk, at great cost, introduced machinery and workmen from England. This failing, fifteen thousand sheep were purchased in Kentucky, two thousand miles distant. Only two hundred and fifty survived the journey, and these soon died of exhaustion. Flax culture and tallow exportation were also tried without success. In these ill-advised schemes Lord Selkirk sank half a million dollars. The population of the settlement, however, continued gradually to increase, a considerable proportion of it being composed of the half-breed progeny of the early French or English-speaking employees of the trading companies and the aboriginal race.

Exhausted by forty years of conflict, in 1821 the Hudson's Bay and North-west Companies ceased their warfare and combined their forces, and were confirmed by the Imperial parliament in the monopoly of trade through the wide region stretching from Labrador to the Pacific Ocean. In order to maintain control of the Red River settlement, in 1836 they paid the sum of £84,000 sterling for the land granted to Lord Selkirk twenty-four years before, except that which had been deeded to settlers. Sir George Simpson became the Governor of the territory, and continued to administer its affairs for forty years. The Council of Assiniboia was organized, consisting of the chief officer of the Company, and councillors chosen from among the most influential inhabitants of the region, and having jurisdiction for fifty miles around Fort Garry. The rest of the territory was under the supreme control of the Company. Its government, while jealously exclusive of rival influence, was patriarchal in character, and, through the exclusion, for the most part, of intoxicating liquors, greatly promoted the welfare of the Indians, and repressed disorder throughout its wide domain.

The policy of the Company was adverse to the settlement of the country, and its agents endeavoured as far as possible to retain the fur trade and sale of goods and

supplies—the profits of which were very great—exclusively in their own hands.

The Red River settlement in 1858 had increased to a population of about eight thousand, and during the next ten years to about twelve thousand. On the formation of the Dominion of Canada, however, it was felt to be highly desirable that it should be included in the new confederacy, and also that the Dominion should acquire jurisdiction over the vast regions under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company ; and, as we have seen, the Hon. George E. Cartier and Hon. William Macdougall visited Great Britain to promote this object. Some years prior to this date, numerous signed petitions from the inhabitants of the Red River settlement were presented to the Government of Canada, soliciting annexation to that country.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE RED RIVER REBELLION.

1368. Rupert's Land Act cedes North-west Territory to the British Crown.
1369. The Dominion Government votes \$300,000 for the indemnity of the Hudson's Bay Company.
The Hon. William Macdougall proceeds to Red River to assume the governorship of the Territory.
Louis Riel organizes a revolutionary council, which prevents the entrance of Mr. Macdougall, October 20th.
THE INSURGENTS SEIZE FORT GARRY, November 3rd.
Colonel Dennis organizes a loyal force.
Dr. Shultz and forty-four Canadians captured and imprisoned, December 7th.
1870. Provisional Government of Assiniboia organized, February 9th.
Loyal organization for the suppression of the revolt.
Major Boulton and forty-seven loyalists captured and imprisoned, February 17th.
Major Boulton sentenced to death, but reprieved.
THOMAS SCOTT CONDEMNED AND SHOT, March 4th.
Intense indignation in Canada.
Commissioners sent from Ottawa to adjust difficulties.
Delegates sent to Ottawa from the Provisional Government,
THE MANITOBA ACT PASSED, May 20th.
Colonel Welseley organizes Red River Expedition.—It enters Fort Garry August 24th.
Hon. A. G. Archibald assumes civil government, September 3rd.
Last Fenian attempt at Trout River and Pigeon Hill, May 25th-28th.
1871. British Columbia enters the Dominion.
Vancouver's Island discovered, 1762.
Colonized by Hudson's Bay Company, 1843.
Vancouver's Island a Crown colony, 1849.
Influx of gold hunters, 1858.—British Columbia organized a separate colony.
Joint occupation of San Juan by British and Americans, 1854.
Vancouver's Island and British Columbia reunited, 1866.
Terms of union with Canada.
Franco-Prussian War—Outrages of the Commune.

IN 1868, the Rupert's Land Act was passed by the British Parliament, and under its provisions the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered to the crown its territorial rights over the vast region under its control. The conditions of this surrender were as follows:—the Company was to

receive the sum of £300,000 sterling in money, and grants of land around its trading posts to the extent of fifty thousand acres in all. In addition it is to receive, as it is surveyed and laid out in townships, one-twentieth of all the land in the great fertile belt south of the north branch of the Saskatchewan. It retains also the privilege of trade, but without its former exclusive monopoly.*

The following April the Dominion parliament passed 1869† an Act, granting the necessary appropriation for the indemnity of the Hudson's Bay Company for its territorial rights, and providing for the temporary government of the entire region, under the designation of the North-west Territory. In anticipation of its speedy cession, which was appointed to take place on the first of December, surveying parties were sent into the Red River country for the purpose of laying out roads and townships, and making other preliminary surveys, with a view to its early occupation. Unhappily jealousies were awakened among the settlers lest this movement should in some way prejudice their title to their land. It was unfortunate that no commissioner was appointed at this juncture to explain the proposed change of government, in order to remove the misapprehensions of the inhabitants.

In the month of September, the Hon. William Macdougall proceeded to Red River in order to assume the duties of Governor of the North-west Territory so soon as the cession should take place. He was prepared to establish stage and telegraph lines, and to carry out a vigorous policy of internal development and improvement. He was met near the frontier, on the twentieth of October, by a band of armed men, and compelled to retreat across the border to Pembina. An insurrectionary council was created, with John Bruce as its president and Louis Reil as secretary, although the latter was really the leading spirit of the movement. The insurgents set at defiance the authority of Mr. MacTavish, the resident

* The price paid for this magnificent territory amounts to only one-sixth of a cent per acre, or one-fifteenth the amount paid per acre by the United States for frozen Alaska.

† During this summer H. R. H. Prince Arthur joined his regiment in Canada. He made a somewhat extended tour through the country, and was everywhere received with the loyal enthusiasm by which Canadians testify their regard for the family of their beloved sovereign.

Governor of Assiniboia and the Hudson's Bay Territory, and on the third of November took forcible possession of Fort Garry, a stone-walled enclosure containing the valuable stores of the Hudson's Bay Company, together with a quantity of small arms, several pieces of cannon, and a large supply of ammunition.

Colonel Dennis, a Canadian militia officer, who had been conducting the land surveys, and was commissioned as Deputy-Governor by Mr. Macdougall, hereupon organized a force of the loyal inhabitants, for the suppression of the revolt and the vindication of the Queen's authority. A party of these, forty-five in all, were besieged by the insurgents in the house of Dr. Schultz, in the town of Winnipeg, and on their surrender on the seventh of December, were imprisoned for some months in Fort Garry. The number of prisoners was soon increased by illegal arrests to over sixty.

The temporary success of the revolt seems to have completely turned the heads of its leaders, and to have encouraged them to more audacious designs. Riel demanded a loan of two thousand pounds sterling from Governor MacTavish, which being refused, he seized and broke open the safe of the Company and pillaged its stores, as well as the property of Dr. Schultz and that of the Canadian Government deposited in his warehouse. He proceeded further to the arrest of Governor MacTavish, then ill with his mortal sickness.

A convention of delegates from the several parishes of the settlement was now summoned by the Riel faction, and a declaration was issued in vindication of their insurrectionary movement. A provisional government was created, of which Riel contrived to have himself elected president, February seventh. A bill of rights was formulated, the principal feature of which was a demand for local self-government, representation in the Dominion legislature, and an amnesty to be granted to the leaders of the revolt. Riel had now an armed force of some six hundred men under his control, and carried things with a high hand in the settlement, arresting whomsoever he would, confiscating public and private property, and banishing from the country persons obnoxious to himself.

This usurped authority proving intolerable to the loyal inhabitants, they organized a movement for the release

of the prisoners and the suppression of the revolt. A large body of men, numbering, it is said, some six or seven hundred, were assembled for this purpose in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry. The prisoners in the Fort having in the meantime been released, in order to prevent the effusion of blood and attendant disasters which would probably result in case of hostile collision, the movement was abandoned.

A party of these loyalists, on their way to their homes, were intercepted by an armed force from the Fort, and imprisoned, to the number of forty-eight. Their leader, Major Boulton, a Canadian militia officer, was thrown into irons, and after a summary trial by a rebel tribunal, was sentenced to be shot. Like a brave man, he prepared calmly for his fate. Intense sympathy was felt among the loyal population, and earnest intercession was made for his reprieve. To this Riel consented, on condition that Archdeacon McLean and Mr. Donald A. Smith, commissioner from the Canadian Government, should endeavour to induce the English-speaking people to send delegates to the so-called "Assembly of the Provisional Government."

Shortly after, however, another Canadian prisoner fell a victim to Riel's usurped and ill-used power. Thomas Scott, a brave and loyal man, for the crime of endeavouring to maintain the authority of his rightful sovereign, after a mock trial by a rebel court-martial, was sentenced to be shot at noon the following day. In spite of the remonstrance and intercession of the Rev. George Young, the Wesleyan missionary at Winnipeg, who attended the prisoner in his last hours, and of Mr. Commissioner Smith, the cruel sentence of this illegal and self-constituted tribunal was carried into execution.

On the fourth of March, Thomas Scott was led from his prison with pinioned arms, and shot in cold blood by a firing party of the insurgents. So unskilfully did the assassins perform their work, that it is said the unfortunate man lived and spoke some time after he was thrust into his coffin, and was at last despatched with the stab of a knife. His remains were refused the rite of Christian sepulture; and after the sham burial of a box of stones in the court-yard of Fort Garry, his body, it is believed, was thrust beneath the ice of the river.

The tidings of this assassination produced intense excitement throughout Canada, especially in the Province of Ontario. Tumultuous indignation meetings were held, and a loud demand was made for the punishment of the instigators of the crime; a reward of five thousand dollars was subsequently offered by the Ontario Government for the arrest of Riel. Measures were promptly taken by the Imperial and Dominion authorities conjointly, for maintaining the supremacy of the Queen in the North-west.

Several commissioners* had during the winter been appointed by the Dominion Government to visit the insurgent territory, to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants, and to convey assurances that all their rights should be respected, and a liberal constitution granted. The Rev. Father Richot, Judge Black, and Mr. A. H. Scott were appointed delegates to Ottawa to convey the wishes of the people of the settlement to the Dominion Government.

On the twentieth of May, an Act passed the Dominion parliament, creating the new province of Manitoba, and admitting it into the Canadian confederation. Its limits were defined as extending a hundred miles northward from the American frontier, and one hundred and twenty miles from east to west. It was granted a representation of two members in the Senate and four in the House of Commons. It was also to receive an annual subsidy of \$30,000 and eighty cents per head on a population estimated at seventeen thousand. A local legislature was organized, consisting of a Lieutenant-Governor (assisted by an Executive Council of five members), a Legislative Council of seven members, and a House of Assembly of twenty-four members.

The government of the contiguous North-west Territory was to be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, aided by a Council of eleven members (afterward increased to twenty-two). This Act was accepted by the council of the provisional government on behalf of the people, and on the twenty-third of June the Queen's

* Grand Vicar Thibault, Colonel de Salaberry, Donald A. Smith, who was a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Bishop Taché.

proclamation for the admission of the new province into the Dominion was issued.

In the meantime Colonel Garnet Wolseley, afterwards distinguished as the successful commander of the British troops in the Ashantee war, organized, in the month of June, a military expedition to restore the authority of the Queen in the insurrectionary province. A body of twelve hundred picked men, about a hundred of whom belonged to the Sixtieth Regiment of the regular army, the remainder being volunteer Canadian militia from both Ontario and Quebec, proceeded by way of Fort William and Rainy Lake and River to Fort Garry. For four hundred miles the expedition traversed a wilderness of labyrinthine lakes or rapid rivers. All the military stores and provisions, and the large and heavy boats, had to be borne with incredible labour over numerous portages, often long and steep and rugged. Yet the little army toiled on through innumerable obstacles, and on the twenty-fourth of August reached its destination, only to find that, as no amnesty for the leaders of the revolt had arrived, Riel and his fellow-conspirators had fled from Fort Garry.

The British troops immediately occupied the fort, and to the great joy of the loyal inhabitants, the Queen's authority was again acknowledged as supreme. On the third of September, the Hon. A. G. Archibald arrived and assumed the functions of Lieutenant-Governor. The troops of the regular army immediately returned, and the maintenance of order was entrusted to the Canadian militia; most of whom, however, were shortly after withdrawn.

The leaders of the Fenian conspiracy in the United States had, in the meantime, been endeavouring to keep up the delusion of their countrymen that a serious attack would be made on Canada. At length they found that some active demonstration to prevent the collapse of the organization was necessary. In the spring of the year, therefore, it made its last feeble effort to disturb the peace of Canada. On the twenty-fifth of May an ill-organized horde crossed the frontier of the province of Quebec, at Trout River. It was speedily confronted by a small force of regulars and volunteers, and hastily retreated. Three

days later a similar raid was made at Pigeon Hill, but it was repulsed, and "General" O'Neil was captured by the United States Marshal. The President of the United States hereupon issued a proclamation forbidding American citizens taking any part in raids against the people of Canada.

On the fifth of October of the following year, the irrepressible O'Neil, and O'Donohue, a confederate of 1871 Riel's in the late insurrection, with a Fenian band, crossed the boundary of Manitoba at Pembina and seized the Custom House and Hudson's Bay post. They were shortly after surprised and captured by a company of United States troops, and O'Neil and some of his fellow-conspirators underwent the formality of a trial in a United States court, but were discharged. The loyal inhabitants of Manitoba rallied promptly for the defence of their province. Even Riel offered his services, when, however, there was no occasion for them. The conduct of Governor Archibald in holding intercourse with the leader of the late revolt, was the occasion of a good deal of criticism. Reënforcements to the number of two hundred men were promptly sent to Fort Garry to replace in part the militia withdrawn. Mr. Archibald was shortly after succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor by the Hon. Chief Justice Morris.

In the early part of the year the Pacific province of British Columbia was admitted into the Dominion of Canada. The previous history of that colony is soon told. In 1762 Captain Vancouver visited and partially explored the islands lying off the North Pacific coast, and gave his name to the largest of the group. Attracted by the spacious harbours, fine climate, fertile soil, and wealth of timber, coal, fisheries and furs, the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1843, received a lease of the island and the adjacent mainland from the Crown, and planted trading posts at Victoria and other places.

International difficulties on account of disputed boundary shortly arising, in 1846 the dividing line between the British territory and United States was defined as one passing through the channel that separates Vancouver's Island from the mainland. This was still ambiguous, as each country claimed the Island of San Juan, situated

in mid-channel, and of considerable importance for military purposes as commanding the entrance to Frazer River.

In 1849 Vancouver's Island became a Crown colony, and Sir James Douglas, the local agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, become its first Governor. The contemporaneous discovery of gold in California attracted thither thousands of Canadian and American gold-hunters, and the more northern colony was neglected. Rich deposits of the precious metal were shortly after found in British Columbia. Wild miners from California, and adventurous spirits from all parts of the world flocked to the new El Dorado. In 1858 between twenty and thirty thousand men were digging on the terraced slopes of the Frazer and its tributaries. As a firm local government was necessary for the maintenance of order among the mixed and often reckless population, British Columbia was organized a separate Crown colony.

The following year, 1859, the American military commandant in Oregon Territory, occupied with an armed force the Island of San Juan, the possession of which was a matter of dispute between the two nations. The English Admiral promptly landed a body of marines in vindication of the claim of Great Britain. A collision between the two forces seemed imminent, but the rival claimants agreed to a joint occupation of the island till the question of its rightful ownership should be settled by arbitration.

In 1866 Vancouver's Island was re-united with British Columbia, and on the twentieth of July, 1871, that colony was incorporated with the Dominion of Canada. It was granted a representation in the Dominion Senate of three members, and six members in the House of Commons. The chief condition of the union was the construction within ten years of a railway connecting the tide waters of the Pacific Ocean with the railway system of Ontario and Quebec—a gigantic undertaking, afterwards found impracticable within the allotted time. To aid the construction of the road the province was to grant twenty miles of land on each side of the line throughout its entire territory, for which it was to receive from the central government the sum of \$100,000 per year.

The debt of the Pacific province was also assumed by the Dominion at the computed amount of \$1,666,000. It received a subsidy of eighty cents a head on an estimated population of sixty thousand, of which three-fourths consisted of the native Indian tribes. It was also to receive an annual grant of \$35,000.

Contemporaneously with this national growth and development, stirring events were shaking the European continent to which we could not in Canada be indifferent. The declaration of war against Germany by the Emperor of the French, in 1870, was speedily followed by the invasion of France, and the successive defeat of the French armies in the sanguinary conflicts of Wœrth, Gravelotte and Sedan. The Emperor a prisoner, the Empress fled to England and France was declared a republic. The victorious German armies pressed remorselessly on to the siege of Paris. Amid frost and famine and fire, amid desperate sorties and gallant resistance, the doomed city held out till January twenty-third, 1871, when it succumbed to the awful bombardment and relentless siege of the enemy. On the first of March, the conquering army marched into the captured capital, and inflicted, as the price of their evacuation of France, the penalty of the excessive indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs.

No sooner was the strong hand of the Germans removed than the terrible rising of the Commune took place. For three months the Republican army of France besieged its own capital, and in fratricidal conflict fought its way through scenes of slaughter, blood and flame, to the possession of the city. A dreadful retaliation followed the stubborn resistance and wanton destruction of property by the frenzied Commune, in the wholesale execution of the defeated faction by their victorious fellow-countrymen. These tragical events were the cause of profound sympathy in Canada, and considerable sums of money were contributed by its French and German inhabitants for the relief of the wounded of their respective countries.

CHAPTER XL.

FALL OF THE MACDONALD MINISTRY.

1871. THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.
THE FISHERY QUESTION.
THE WASHINGTON TREATY CONCLUDED, May 8th.
Mr. Edward Blake succeeds Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald as Premier of Ontario.
Illness and recovery of the Prince of Wales.
1872. Lord Dufferin succeeds Lord Lisgar as Governor-General.
THE GENEVA ARBITRATION awards the United States \$15,500,000 for *Alabama* claims.
British sentiment on Colonial connexion.
Second Dominion Parliament elected.
Census returns.
Canadian Pacific Railway Companies organized.
1873. Charter granted to Sir Hugh Allan's Company.
Mr. Huntingdon charges the Government with malfeasance, April 2nd.
A committee of investigation appointed--The Oaths Bill passed.
Death and public funeral of Sir George E. Cartier.
Death of Hon. Joseph Howe.
Ontario Legislation.
New Lieutenant-Governors in the Provinces.
Prince Edward's Island enters the Dominion, July 1st.
"PACIFIC SCANDAL" controversy during recess.
Parliament meets, August 13th--Oaths Bill *ultra vires*.
Parliament prorogued amid confusion.
A Royal Commission investigates charges.
Parliament meets, October 23rd--Receives Report of Commission--
Seven days' debate on the address.
THE MACDONALD MINISTRY RESIGNS, November 5th.

THE question of the liability of Great Britain for the immense damage done to American commerce by the depredations of the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and other Confederate cruisers sailing from British ports, was the occasion of intense and prolonged discussion in the United States. The political irritation found vehement expression in the public press, on the platform, and even in the pulpit.

Another cause of international difficulty also existed. During the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty, the deep sea and inshore fisheries of the British North

American coast were freely thrown open to American fishermen by the conditions of the treaty. On the suspension of reciprocity, of course that privilege ceased. Yet the Americans continued to claim the right of fishing in British waters. The protection by means of armed cruisers of these valuable preserves against this unauthorized intrusion, was both difficult and costly, and was liable to lead to serious interruptions of international peace.

In order to discuss, and as far as possible remove these and other causes of irritation between the two governments, a joint high commission, composed of eminent statesmen of both nations, met at Washington in the month of February, 1871. The interests of Canada were represented by Sir John A. Macdonald as one of the commissioners appointed by the Imperial Government. The result of the negotiations was expressed by the Washington Treaty, concluded on the eighth of May. The *Alabama* claims were jointly referred to a board of arbitration appointed by friendly powers, by whose decision each nation agreed to abide. The fisheries of both Canada and the United States were thrown open to either country. A money compensation was, however, to be paid to Canada in consideration of the superior value of her fisheries, the amount of compensation to be decided by a sub-commission. The navigation in common of the Canadian and United States canals, and of Lake Michigan, and the transport of dutiable goods in bond through either country, with some minor privileges, were mutually granted. The San Juan boundary difficulty was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who gave his decision in favour of the United States. The boundary between the North-west Territory and Alaska, recently purchased by the United States from Russia, was also defined and surveyed.

The claims of the Dominion on account of losses sustained and expense incurred by the Fenian raids were entirely ignored by the commission. This gave great dissatisfaction in Canada, as did also the surrender of her valuable fisheries, for which it was felt that no adequate compensation would be obtained. Nevertheless, although the power of veto of the fishing clauses of the treaty was

granted to the Dominion parliament, they were loyally adopted out of consideration for the Imperial policy of Great Britain. The British Government, in consideration of the abandonment by Canada of the Fenian raid claims, guaranteed a Dominion loan of \$3,500,000, and continued its guarantee of the previous fortification loan of \$1,100,000.

In the Ontario legislature political parties were very evenly divided. One result of confederation had been the accumulation in the treasury of the province of a large surplus—the proceeds of Crown land and other revenue, and of the Dominion subsidy. It was proposed to employ a considerable proportion of this surplus in aiding the construction of railways in the province. Important narrow gauge lines, opening up the Nipissing and Grey and Bruce regions, were projected and prosecuted by the aid of bonuses voted by the municipalities benefited. The discussion of these and other subjects was sufficiently acrimonious. In the month of December, 1871, the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, in consequence of a vote of the House adverse to the policy of the Government, in appropriating \$1,500,000 for railroad subsidies without taking a vote on the appropriations to the several roads, resigned the premiership into the hands of Mr. Edward Blake.* It was objected by the new Opposition that several constituencies were not represented when the Sandfield-Macdonald Government was obliged to resign; but Mr. Blake was, nevertheless, enabled to command a good working majority in a full House. Mr. Macdonald died the following summer, respected and regretted by all classes of the community. Among the important measures of the session was one disallowing the practice of dual representation, that is, the occupancy of seats by the same person in both the Dominion and local parlia-

* The Hon. Edward Blake is the son of the late Hon. William Hume Blake, a gentleman of good Irish family, who became Solicitor-General of Canada in the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry, and afterward Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada. The younger Blake was educated at Upper Canada College and Toronto University, where he graduated with honours. He was called to the bar in 1856. In 1867 he was elected representative for West Durham in the first Dominion parliament, and for South Bruce in the Ontario legislature, and became in the latter the acknowledged leader of the Opposition. Mr. Blake on entering political life at once stepped to the front rank, both at Toronto and Ottawa. His public addresses, both in parliament and out of it, challenge the attention of the country, and he commands the respect even of those who most strenuously oppose his political course.

ments. In consequence of this Mr. Blake yielded the office of premier to the Hon. Oliver Mowat, who resigned his position on the bench in order to enter again into political life.

The marriage of the Princess Louise to the Marquis of Lorne created much social interest in Canada. Toward the close of the year 1871, the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales awoke profound sympathy. On his restoration to health, Canada joined heartily in the national thanksgiving of the motherland.

The visit to Canada and the United States, during the winter, of the Grand Duke Alexis, of Russia, was the occasion of considerable popular interest.

In the month of June following, the Earl of Dufferin 1872 succeeded Sir John Young (now Lord Lisgar) as Governor-General. He brought with him a distinguished reputation as a statesman and man of letters, and by the urbanity of his manners won a very remarkable degree of popular favour. He promptly identified himself with every interest of the country which was calculated to promote its happiness and welfare.

After having rejected the preposterous claims of the United States for indirect or constructive damages on account of the piracies of the Confederate cruisers, the Geneva arbitration commission awarded to that country the sum of \$15,500,000—this amount to be adjudicated to claimants in proportion to their ascertained losses. Thus was an example given of the feasibility of settling vexatious international difficulties by the peaceable arbitration of intelligent and dispassionate neutrals, instead of by appeal to the dread arbitrament of war.

The *Times* newspaper, indeed, in view of the complications in which it conceived that Canada involved the mother country, advocated its political divorce from Great Britain. The laureate, Tennyson, however, in a poetical address to the Queen, more correctly interpreted the feelings of the British nation by his indignant repudiation of the sordid feeling that would bid that "true North" to "loose the bond and go," because "so loyal was too costly." The spontaneous outburst of feeling on both sides of the sea proved that the bond between Canada and the motherland was one of mutually strong and intense attachment.

The first Dominion parliament having expired by effluxion of time, a general election was held during the summer and autumn of 1872 (from July fifteenth to October twelfth). The political excitement in all the provinces was very great, but it culminated in Ontario and Quebec, where the most strenuous struggle took place. The elections resulted in the return of a parliamentary majority sustaining the ministry of Sir John A. Macdonald. Sir George E. Cartier, however, was defeated in Montreal, but was elected for Provencher, in Manitoba. Sir Francis Hincks was also defeated, but found a seat as representative of Vancouver District, in British Columbia.

The returns of the census of 1871 were this year made public. The population of the four leading provinces were reported as follows:—Ontario, 1,620,851; Quebec, 1,191,516; Nova Scotia, 387,800; New Brunswick, 285,594; total, 3,485,761.

The construction of a Canadian Pacific Railway across the continent was one of the conditions of the entrance of British Columbia into the Dominion. For the purpose of procuring the contract for this gigantic undertaking, two rival companies obtained incorporation—the “Canada-Pacific,” with Sir Hugh Allan, principal proprietor of the Canadian steamship line, at its head; and the “Inter-Oceanic,” with the Hon. Senator Macpherson as its president. The Government was authorized by Act of Parliament to give the contract for building the road to either company, or to the two companies amalgamated, or to any company distinct from either that would undertake the task. A subsidy of \$30,000,000, and a grant of fifty million acres of land in alternate blocks along the line of railway, were also to be given to the company constructing the road.

The financial state of the country showed remarkable buoyancy, the surplus of revenue being three and a half millions. In consequence of this satisfactory condition of affairs, the duty on tea and coffee was abolished, and also the immigrant tax.

During this year a terrible railway accident happened near Belleville, whereby forty persons were killed and many injured. The Wimbledon prize cup, given by the Rajah of Kolapore, was won by the Canadian rifle team.

A charter was at length granted (February nineteenth) 1873 to a new "Canada Pacific Railway Company." The president was Sir Hugh Allan, and among the directors, seventeen in number, were members of both the former companies, and representative men from the different provinces of the Dominion, together with several leading American capitalists.

Parliament met on the sixth of March. The Government had a good working majority. Early in the session grave charges were preferred against the ministry by Mr. Huntingdon, the member for Shefford. They were accused of malfeasance of office in connection with the granting of the Pacific Railway charter, and Mr. Huntingdon moved for the appointment of a committee of investigation of the alleged malfeasance. The ministry regarded the motion as one of want of confidence, and without debate called for a division. They were sustained, in a House of a hundred and eighty-three members, by a majority of thirty-one.

A few days after, however, Sir John A. Macdonald himself brought in a resolution for the appointment of a committee of investigation. A committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of Messrs. John Hillyard Cameron, J. Macdonald (of Pictou, N.S.), and Dr. Blanchet, from the Ministerial side of the House, and Messrs. Blake and Dorion from the Opposition. Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, the chairman of the committee, introduced a bill, giving it authority to examine witnesses on oath. Although the legality of the bill was questioned at the time, it was passed without opposition. The committee, on meeting, adjourned till the month of July to give an opportunity for the return of Sir Hugh Allan and other persons concerned, who were at the time in Great Britain. The House rose in June—by adjournment, not by prorogation, which would have destroyed the existence of the Committee—to meet on the thirteenth of August for the reception of the Committee's report. An Act prohibiting dual representation had been passed, and one providing for election by ballot was introduced, but was not carried beyond its second reading.

Early in the year Canada had lost two of her most distinguished statesmen. On the twenty-seventh of May,

Sir George E. Cartier, Minister of Militia, died at London. He possessed great popularity and political influence among his French Canadian fellow-countrymen. As a national tribute to his official position, distinguished ability, and the deserved esteem in which he was held, his remains were interred with imposing obsequies at Montreal.

On the first of June, the Hon. Joseph Howe died at the Government House in Halifax. He had only a few days previously been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of his native province. He held his first levée lying in state upon his bier.

The local legislature of Ontario met on January the eighth. Among the more important Acts of the session was one readjusting the Municipal Loan Fund indebtedness in a manner equitable to both indebted and unindebted municipalities; also an Act giving a new constitution to Toronto University, and one consolidating the Municipal Acts. The Crown land policy of the Government was attacked by the Opposition, and much hostile criticism was incurred by the rejection of the Orange Incorporation Bill. Mr. Scott, on becoming a Privy Councillor, was succeeded as Crown Land Commissioner by Mr. Pardee, and Mr. Frazer became Provincial Secretary. The immigration to the province of Ontario during the season reached the number of thirty-eight thousand, a considerable proportion of whom were Russian Menmonites, against twenty-eight thousand in 1872. Mr. Howland was succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor by Mr. John Crawford.

In British Columbia a new ministry was formed under the premiership of Mr. De Cosmos.

In Manitoba, as already mentioned, Mr. Chief-Justice Morris succeeded Mr. Archibald as Lieutenant-Governor, the latter becoming Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia on the death of Mr. Howe.

In Quebec, Mr. Caron became Lieutenant-Governor, *vice* Sir N. Belleau, and in New Brunswick, Mr. Tilley succeeded Mr. Wilmot.

The country was stirred to sympathy by the tragical wreck on the coast of Nova Scotia, near Halifax harbour, of the steamship *Atlantic*, whereby five hundred lives

were lost. On the same iron-bound coast the steamship *City of Washington* was also wrecked, but happily without loss of life.

On the first of July, Dominion Day, Prince Edward Island was admitted into the Canadian confederacy. It received a representation in the House of Commons of six members, and in the Senate, of four members. Its debt, computed at \$4,701,050, was assumed by the Dominion Government. It is also to receive a grant of \$30,000 per year, and a subsidy of eighty cents a head on a population of ninety-four thousand two hundred and twenty-one, together with a loan advanced by the Dominion to extinguish the claims of large landed proprietors. The consummation of the union was celebrated with great festivity at Charlottetown, the capital of the island.

A general readjustment of the financial relations of the provinces to the Dominion took place. Ontario and Quebec were relieved of a portion of their debt, and the other provinces received an increase in their annual subsidy. New Brunswick received in addition an annual grant of \$150,000 to compensate for the loss of her timber dues under the Treaty of Washington.

During the summer Lord and Lady Dufferin made a progress through the maritime provinces, winning all hearts by their refined courtesy. They were everywhere received with the most loyal demonstrations.

During the recess of parliament certain correspondence between Sir Hugh Allan and some American capitalists, which was published in the newspapers, seemed to inculcate the Government in what was now known as the "Pacific Scandal," and seriously damaged their position. The burden of the charge was that the Government had received from Sir Hugh Allan and American capitalists, in consideration of granting them the Pacific Railway Charter, large sums of money to be used in carrying the elections in the interest of the Ministerial party. Intense political feeling prevailed throughout the Dominion, and by a large number of persons the case was prejudged and the Government already condemned.

When parliament met on the thirteenth of August, the committee of investigation failed to report, as the

Imperial Government had on legal grounds disallowed the Oaths Bill, under which it was authorized to receive sworn testimony. An address, signed by ninety-two members of parliament, chiefly occupants of the Opposition benches, was presented to the Governor-General, praying that he would not prorogue the House until the charges against the Government had been fully investigated. His Excellency, however, considered himself bound by constitutional reasons to carry out the programme announced, and amid a scene of extraordinary tumult and commotion, and loud cries of "Privilege," the Usher of the Black Rod summoned the Commons to the Senate Chamber for prorogation.

A royal commission, composed of Justice Day, Justice Polette and Judge Gowan, was appointed by His Excellency to receive the testimony of sworn witnesses on the charges against the Government.

Mr. Huntingdon refused to appear before the commission, on the ground that he considered its appointment an invasion of the privileges of parliament. The commission proceeded, however, to the examination of witnesses, including the leading members of the Government, and others whose names had been previously cited by Mr. Huntingdon. The testimony of these witnesses seemed considerably to mitigate the burden of the charges. The Opposition press complained, however, that there was no cross-examination of the witnesses, and the Ministerial press charged the Opposition with seeking evidence in a surreptitious and underhand manner. Party feeling ran very high, and mutual recriminations were very severe.

Parliament met again on the twenty-third of October to receive the report of the royal commission, presenting the unprecedented circumstance of being in session three times within five months. The report of the commissioners was an elaborate and exhaustive document, but it was confined to a statement of matters of evidence, without expressing any judicial opinion upon the subject.

In amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the throne, Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, moved a resolution of censure on the Government. The debate that ensued was one of intense interest. The

galleries of the House were crowded day after day with eager listeners from all parts of the country. For seven days the debate continued. Many former supporters of the Government announced their condemnation of the ministry, and their intention to vote against it. At length, without waiting for the House to come to a vote, Sir John A. Macdonald announced the resignation of his cabinet, November fifth.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE MACKENZIE ADMINISTRATION.

1873. Mr. Mackenzie forms a New Government—Its Constitution.
1874. Lord Dufferin Dissolves Parliament, January 3rd.
 SIMULTANEOUS ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE, JANUARY 29th.
 RIEL CLAIMS A SEAT—IS EXPELLED FROM THE HOUSE.
 NEW PACIFIC RAILWAY ACT—Empowers the Government to Construct the Road.
 THE CONTROVERTED ELECTION ACT.
 QU'APPELLE TREATY CONCLUDED WITH NORTH-WEST INDIANS.
1875. Ontario Elections—Many Protests Filed—New Election Law Represses Electoral Corruption.
 Dominion Parliament meets February 4th—Amnesty granted Red River Insurgents—Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue exempted.
 SUPREME COURT OF APPEAL CREATED—Its Constitution.
 Practical Legislation—Postal Convention with United States.
 MOUNTED POLICE ORGANIZED IN NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.
 Depression of Railway Interests—North-Shore Railway Projected.
 Guilford Riot at Montreal—Pilgrimage Riots at Toronto.
 Death of Sir William Logan and of Lieutenant-Governor Crawford.
 New Brunswick School-law Troubles.
1876. Dominion Parliament meets February 10th.
 Readjustment of Terms with Manitoba.
 Organization of North-west Council and District of Kewatin.
 Protection and Free Trade Discussions.
 OPENING OF INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.
 Progress of Public Works and Pacific Railway.
 CANADA AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.
 Vice-Regal Tour to British Columbia—CONCLUSION.

MR. MACKENZIE was called upon to form a new government, which he speedily did.* On returning to their constituencies for reëlection its members were

* It was constituted as follows:—

Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, . . .	Minister of Public Works.
Hon. A. A. Dorion,	Minister of Justice.
Hon. Edward Blake,	Member of the Privy Council.
Hon. Albert J. Smith,	Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
Hon. L. de St. Just,	Minister of Agriculture and Statistics.
Hon. R. J. Cartwright,	Minister of Finance.
Hon. David Laird,	Minister of the Interior.
Hon. David Christie,	Secretary of State.
Hon. Isaac Burpee,	Minister of Customs.
Hon. D. A. Macdonald,	Postmaster-General.
Hon. Thomas Coffin,	Receiver-General.
Hon. Télesphore Fournier,	Minister of Inland Revenue.
Hon. William Ross,	Minister of Militia and Defence.

returned by large majorities. As a new issue had come before the country since the general election, and as it was alleged that several members of the House were returned by corrupt practices for the support of the late administration, Mr. Mackenzie* requested a dissolution of parliament and a fresh appeal to the country.

During the year a new political party, not numerous, but embracing among its adherents several gentlemen of distinguished ability who could not give full adhesion to either of the previously existing parties, was organized. It received its name, "Canada First," from an eloquent patriotic pamphlet, inculcating the growth of a national sentiment, written by W. A. Foster, Esq., LL.B., one of the active spirits of the organization. By the principles set forth in this pamphlet the new party is largely characterized. It has made its influence felt chiefly through a periodical literature of free criticism of all public acts, irrespective of party, to which the vigorous and polished writing of Professor Goldwin Smith and other able *litterateurs* has given very great weight.

During the Christmas recess the House was dissolved, 1874 January third. The nominations, with few exceptions, took place on January twenty-second, and the elections one week later. The political contest was very keen and animated. Old party lines were in many cases obliterated, and not a few life-long Conservatives voted against the party which so long had administered the affairs of the country.

The night following the election was one of intense excitement. It was the first election for the Dominion parliament at which voting, except in a few outlying constituencies, was simultaneous. Through the midnight hours multitudes thronged the streets of the cities to read the successive telegraphic bulletins at the newspaper

* Mr. Mackenzie, the new premier, like many others of our public men, has been the architect of his own fortune. He was born near Dunkeld, Perthshire, in 1822. He received his early education in the public school of his native parish. Left an orphan at the age of fourteen, he earned his living by the labour of his hands, while he continued his unremitting work of self-education. He emigrated to Sarnia, in Upper Canada, in 1842. He felt a strong interest in the struggle for responsible government in his adopted country, and took an active part in the advocacy of liberal principles. In 1861 he was elected member of parliament for Lambton, which constituency he has ever since represented. On the passage of the Act disallowing dual representation, he resigned his seat in the Ontario parliament for that at Ottawa, where he soon became the acknowledged leader of the Opposition.

offices. Tar barrels blazed, and torchlight processions and music celebrated the triumph of the victorious candidates. The following morning returns from nearly all the constituencies were published in the daily papers, recording a large majority in favour of the Government. An administration which had the honour of guiding the early fortunes of the new confederation of provinces, which had exhibited marked ability, and had rendered distinguished service to the country, received the condemnation of a large proportion of the constituencies, especially of those in the province of Ontario.

There were, however, many contested elections. The investigation of these had, by an Act of the previous session, been removed from the jurisdiction of a parliamentary committee and referred to the civil courts. The hearing of the protests was postponed, in consequence of the inability of the judges to overtake the work, till after the summer parliamentary recess. Parliament met on the twenty-sixth of March. The Hon. T. W. Anglin, of New Brunswick, was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Hon. D. Christie was appointed president of the Senate. Arrangements were made for the publication of a Canadian *Hansard*, containing the official report of the proceedings of parliament.

The Government had a larger numerical following than any previous ministry ever had in Canada. It was claimed that in a House of two hundred and six members, three-fourths were supporters of the administration. The Hon. George Brown and the Hon. R. W. Scott entered the Dominion Senate. Before the parliament met, Mr. Blake, who, under a temporary arrangement, held office without portfolio, resigned.

Mr. Louis Riel having been elected representative for Provencher, in Manitoba, appeared in Ottawa and signed the roll of the House, taking the oath required of its members. Mr. Mackenzie Bowell moved his expulsion from parliament as a "fugitive from justice," a true bill having been found against him as one of the murderers of Thomas Scott, by the grand jury of Manitoba, and sentence of outlawry pronounced. Evidence substantiating these facts was taken at the bar of the

House, and the sentence of expulsion was almost unanimously carried, only two members voting against it. He was subsequently reëlected by the same constituency of Provencher, but did not again attempt to take his seat.

The session was a short but busy one. Sir Hugh Allan had found himself unable, on behalf of the Pacific Railway Company, to obtain the money in England for the construction of the road, and resigned the charter into the hands of the Government. A new Pacific Railway Act was therefore passed, empowering the Government to construct the road in sections, and to make use of the water stretches on the route till the entire road could be completed.

A more stringent Controverted Elections Act than that of 1872 was passed, which contributed very greatly to the suppression of corrupt practices. A bill was also passed for reorganizing the militia and for establishing a military college at Kingston. Numerous petitions were presented to the House, praying for the abolition of the liquor traffic. The Government appointed a royal commission to investigate the operation of the prohibitory law in those states in the Union where it had been introduced. The report of this commission established the fact of the general repression of crime and pauperism where the prohibition of the traffic had been enforced.

Mr. Cartwright, the Finance Minister, announced an anticipated deficit in the public revenue of \$3,000,000, which he proposed to meet by an increase of the customs duties from fifteen to seventeen and a half per cent. He also effected a Dominion loan of \$20,000,000 in the London money market at very favourable rates.

After the summer vacation protests against the contested elections were heard. The new election law was found to be prompt, impartial, and effective in its operation. Every member whose election was protested against was unseated, sometimes on purely technical grounds, but all but three who offered themselves were reëlected. The introduction of the ballot contributed very greatly to electoral purity. The elections for the voided seats occupied a considerable share of public attention for the remainder of the year.

During the summer negotiations were carried on between Sir Edward Thornton, British minister at Washington, and the Hon. George Brown, representing Canada, and the Hon. Mr. Fish, Secretary of the United States, for the renewing of a reciprocity treaty. On the twenty-third of June a draft of a treaty, which had been approved by the Governments of Great Britain and Canada as the best that could be effected under the circumstances, although by no means so advantageous to Canadian interests as was desirable, was submitted by President Grant to the United States Senate "for advice." It was, however, ultimately vetoed by that body. Its failure caused little regret in Canada, so unfavourable were its conditions.

In the Ontario parliament a mass of useful legislation was accomplished. The Public School Act was consolidated. The representation of the province was readjusted. Six new seats were created, increasing the number of members to eighty-eight. The surplus in the treasury amounted to \$5,000,000.

During the summer Lord Dufferin made a vice-regal tour through the upper lakes, and evinced his deep interest in the magnificent scenery and grand resources of that portion of the Dominion. During a brief visit at Chicago, he received the hospitality of the city, and reciprocated the expressions of international courtesy which he received.

In consequence of dissatisfaction on the part of British Columbia with reference to the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, Mr. Edgar proceeded thither as a commissioner from the Canadian Government, in order to arrive, if possible, at an amicable understanding. Certain modifications and concessions were granted which greatly contributed to that result.

In the North-west the Qu'Apelle treaty was concluded with the Indians having territorial rights between Fort Ellice and the South Saskatchewan, which, in consideration of generous reserves and annual presents, extinguished the Indian title to seventy-four thousand square miles, and prepared the way for its future settlement. Previous treaties had ceded the whole of Manitoba and the Kewatin District. A considerable immigration of

Mennonites and Icelanders took place into the province of Manitoba. They received generous government aid and favourably situated grants of land.

Chief-Justice Richards and the Hon. Judge Wilmot were appointed arbitrators to settle the question of the north and north-west boundaries of the province of Quebec.

One of the chief social events of the year was the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh with the daughter of the Emperor of Russia, an alliance which seemed the pledge of the renewal of an international friendship, unhappily interrupted by the disastrous Crimean war.

Early in the year the province of Ontario elected its third Legislative Assembly. Additional interest was felt in the election from the fact that voting by ballot was for the first time introduced. No less than twenty-four petitions were filed against members elect, under the provisions of the Controverted Elections Act. The result of the trials, however, did not materially affect the balance of parties either way. Though many seats were voided, this seems to have been generally the effect of minor violations of an extremely stringent law, rather than from any grave or general attempt at electoral corruption.

Canadian readers of the daily press followed with especial interest the victorious career of Sir Garnet Wolseley in his conduct of the Ashantee war, and the capture, early in the year, of the barbarian stronghold of Coomassie. The military skill that had been exhibited in penetrating the wilderness of Canada was still more strikingly manifested in conquering the difficulties of the African jungle.

The Dominion parliament assembled on the fourth of 1875 February. The session, though short, was busy. A prominent subject of discussion was that of granting an amnesty to persons inculpated in the disturbances in the North-west territories during the years 1869 and 1870. Lepine, the associate of Riel in the insurrection, had been tried before Chief-Justice Wood, of Manitoba, for the murder of Scott, and had been found guilty and sentenced to death. Petitions were presented for his reprieve, and the question of a general

amnesty became the subject of a prolonged and animated debate. The policy of the Government qualified the amnesty with regard to the two principal agents in the insurrection, Riel and Lepine, by imposing on them banishment from the country for the period of five years. This was sustained by a vote in the House of one hundred and twenty-six yeas to fifty nays. Riel was disqualified from sitting in the House of Commons, having been declared an outlaw by the Court of Queen's Bench, and a writ was issued for a new election. O'Donohue, in consequence of his inculpation in the Fenian invasion of Manitoba in 1871, was excluded altogether from the privileges of the amnesty.

Another important piece of legislation was the constitution of a Supreme Court of Appeal for the Dominion.*

The provisions for improved postal service and free delivery of letters in cities ; and the legislation on banks and banking, insurance, railway traffic, and other subjects of a like practical nature, were highly appreciated by the mercantile community. A bill sanctioning the construction by the Dominion Government of a railway in Vancouver's Island, in accordance with an agreement with the province of British Columbia, was passed by the Commons, but was thrown out by the Senate.

A postal convention was concluded with the United States, providing for the transmission of letters and papers from either country to the other at single instead of double postage rates. Additional facilities were also given for the diffusion of intelligence by the large reduction of postage on periodicals.

Some important changes took place in the *personnel* of the Government. The Hon. Edward Blake accepted office as the Minister of Justice, the Hon. J. E. Cauchon became President of the Council, the Hon. L. S. Huntingdon become Postmaster-General, and the Hon. W. B. Vail, formerly a member of the Government of Nova Scotia, became Minister of Militia ; the previous occupants of these offices having received civil or legal appointments.

* It was composed of Chief-Justice Richards and the puisne judges, Mr. Justice Strong, Hon. T. Fournier, Mr. Justice Taschereau, Hon. Mr. Henry, Q.C., and Chief-Justice Ritchie of New Brunswick.

During the summer Lord Dufferin visited Great Britain, and in an eloquent address before the Canada Club highly eulogized the Dominion, and vindicated its claims upon the regard of the mother country. A loan of £2,500,000 sterling was effected in the London money market, at rates that showed the favourable estimate of Canadian securities.

A severe monetary stringency led to much commercial and manufacturing depression, which has been more or less felt since, causing many insolvencies, and leading to a wise and necessary decrease in importation, although at the cost of a lessened customs revenue.

In the North-west territory the presence of an efficient force of three hundred mounted police, and the appointment of stipendiary magistrates, ensured the preservation of peace and order throughout those wide regions, and have prevented the evils of the liquor traffic—that bane of their race—among the Indian tribes.

A steamboat successfully sailed up the Saskatchewan river, the pioneer of the great commercial fleet that shall yet navigate those inland waters. Successful negotiations were also opened with the Plain Indians of the Far West, with a view to the visits of commissioners and the formation of treaties with them.

The railway interests of the Dominion suffered from a considerable reduction of traffic consequent on the depressed state of trade, both in the United States and Canada. The Canada Southern Railway came under the control of Commodore Vanderbilt by purchase. A severe attack was made on the Canadian railway system in the London papers by Mr. Potter, the president of the Grand Trunk Railway. As a consequence, the promoters of a direct line from Quebec to Montreal and Ottawa were unable to effect the necessary loan in the London money market. The Quebec Government, however, resolved to assume the construction of the road, which will open up a valuable section of country, and will prove an important link in the interoceanic railway communication.

The tendency to ecclesiastical consolidation was illustrated by the union of all the Presbyterian Churches of Canada, following shortly on that of three branches of the Methodist Church.

In two of the principal cities of the Dominion unhappy riots occurred, which produced intense excitement throughout the country. In Montreal an attempt to bury the remains of Joseph Guibord, in accordance with an order of the Privy Council of England, in the Catholic cemetery, from which they had been interdicted by ecclesiastical censure, was for a time frustrated by mob violence. The presence of a strong civil and military force, and the pacific counsels of the Roman Catholic clergy, prevented any outbreak of violence on a second attempt, when the interment took place without interruption.

A few weeks later, in the city of Toronto, a Catholic procession proceeding from church to church was attacked on two successive Sundays—September twenty-sixth and October third—by a lawless mob. On the second occasion the procession was escorted by a strong force of police, a military corps being held in reserve. Several stubborn conflicts took place between the mob and the police, in which stones were freely used, several pistol shots fired, and many persons seriously injured. The riot, however, was rigorously suppressed by the civic authorities without the aid of the military, and many of the rioters were arrested, tried, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The military college at Kingston, for the education of officers of the Canadian militia, was successfully inaugurated in accordance with an Act of the Dominion legislature, and a new Normal School for the training of teachers was opened at Ottawa under the auspices of the Ontario Government. The Prince Edward Island Railway was also opened under the management of the Dominion authorities.

A graceful act of justice was done to the surviving veterans of 1812-15, nearly three thousand in number, by the donation of a gratuity in recognition of their patriotic services.

During the year the country was called upon to mourn the death of one of her most distinguished sons, Sir William Logan, the eminent geologist. In the month of May also died the Hon. John Crawford, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, greatly respected by all classes of

the community. He was succeeded in office by the Hon. Donald Macdonald, previously Postmaster-General of Canada.

In New Brunswick the enforcement of the public school law led to a disturbance and loss of life at Caraquet, and to the trial and conviction of the chief offenders.

The Separate School difficulty in that province—which was the occasion of much acrimonious debate in the Dominion parliament during several sessions, and which involved constitutional issues of the gravest importance as to the relations of the provincial and federal Governments—deserves a somewhat detailed recapitulation. In 1871 the legislature of New Brunswick passed a Common School Act making assessment compulsory, and enacting that all schools, to be entitled to legislative aid, must be non-sectarian. The immediate effect of this Act was to deprive all denominational academies and schools of the aid from public moneys which they had previously received.

The ninety-third clause of the British North America Act gives to the provincial legislatures the exclusive right to make laws on the subject of education, but with the provision that nothing in any such law shall limit any privileges existing at the time of the union. The Catholic minority of New Brunswick asserted that this exception to the education clause of the Union Act guaranteed their right to legislative grants for their denominational schools. They therefore petitioned the Privy Council to advise the Governor-General to disallow the Common School Act of the New Brunswick legislature. The Privy Council declined so to advise His Excellency, the Minister of Justice, Sir John A. Macdonald, contending that the jurisdiction of New Brunswick was supreme in the matter, and that the exception to the education clause of the Union Act did not apply in the case.

This decision proving exceedingly unsatisfactory to the petitioners, Mr. Chauveau, the member for Quebec county, moved a resolution in the Dominion parliament, praying the Queen to cause an Act to be passed amending the Act of Union in the sense understood by the petitioners, with respect to educational matters. Hereupon the Government of New Brunswick sent to the Privy

Council an emphatic protest against what it considered the threatened infringement on the constitutional right of the province to legislate on all educational matters, free from interference from the Dominion parliament. Mr. Chauveau's motion was lost by a vote of one hundred and twenty-six to thirty-four; but a motion was carried expressing a hope that the school law of New Brunswick might be modified so as to remove the discontent of a portion of the inhabitants. To this motion a rider was appended, referring the legal aspects of the question to the law officers of the crown. These officers confirmed the decision of the Privy Council, in which opinion they were corroborated by the judgment of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, in the case of appeal against the compulsory assessment under the new School Act.

In the general election of 1872 the New Brunswick school law was in large degree a test question at the polls, and in the first session of the second Dominion parliament a resolution was carried in favour of an appeal to the Privy Council of England; and the following year, after the change of Government, a vote of \$5,000 was granted to defray the expenses of the appeal. The same year the people of New Brunswick entered their vigorous protest against the interference of the Dominion parliament in matters within the jurisdiction of the provincial legislature. The elections for a new local legislature turned upon this question. Out of forty-one representatives only five were returned in the interest of the minority in favour of a separate school law.

The Attorney-General of the province, the Hon. J. E. King, proceeded to London to defend the acts of the Government before the Privy Council of England. That highest court in the realm dismissed the appeal and sustained the constitutionality of the New Brunswick school law. Much exasperation was felt on the part of the minority. Several persons refused to pay the obnoxious school tax, which the authorities had to collect by seizure of goods.

In 1875, as already mentioned, a serious riot took place at Caraquet, Gloucester county. Some ratepayers met at the school-house to vote money for school purposes. A party of French habitants broke up the meeting and took

possession of the building. In endeavouring to suppress the riot one of the officers of the law and one of the rioters were shot dead, and the militia had to be called on to preserve public order.

During the session of 1875 the Dominion parliament consented, by a large majority, to an address to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to use her influence with the legislature of New Brunswick to procure such a modification of the School Act as would remove any just grounds of discontent to any portion of the population.

As these pages are passing through the press the intelligence comes to hand of the large majority of the free-school party in the elections for the local legislature of the province of Prince Edward Island. The contest turned almost exclusively upon the school question; and it is claimed that the elections which took place on the seventeenth of August returned eighteen free school candidates against twelve sectarian school candidates.

The third session of the Dominion parliament assembled on the tenth of February, and continued for 1876 nine weeks. The actual amount of legislation was not great, but some important measures passed the House. A readjustment of terms was made by the Government with Manitoba, by which that province abolished its Upper Chamber or Legislative Council of seven members, and received an annual grant of \$90,000 for governmental expenses.

Provision was also made for the separation of a portion of the North-west territory for administrative purposes, and for the creation of a new North-west Council, consisting of a Lieutenant-Governor and five members. That portion of the territory north and east of Manitoba was erected into the District of Kewatin, or the North-land, and placed under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the "prairie province." Provision was also made for the ratifying of treaties with the Indian tribes, and for the encouragement of immigration into the territory.

In consequence of the continued commercial depression during the recess, the subjects of protection and free trade had been warmly discussed. These discussions were

renewed with much energy within the House. In view of a prospective deficiency in the revenue, it was anticipated that the customs tariff would be advanced, thus giving a further incidental protection to the manufacturers. Mr. Cartwright's budget, however, introduced February twenty-fifth, met the difficulty by a retrenchment in the expenditure to the amount of two and a half millions. The fiscal policy of the Government was strongly attacked on several occasions, but the ministry was sustained by large majorities.

The provisions of the "Shipping Bill" of the Imperial parliament having infringed on the prerogative of Canada, representations were made to the Home Government regarding the rights of colonial ship-owners, leading to modifications which made the bill more acceptable.

During the early part of the summer the Intercolonial Railway was opened for travel and traffic. The magnificence of the scenery through which it passes has attracted much attention, and the increased facilities given to intercolonial trade cannot fail to strengthen the bonds of union with the maritime provinces. The opening of the road has already considerably lessened the time of transit of European mails to and from the West.

The public works of the Dominion are being pressed forward with vigour, and very satisfactory progress has been made on the new constructions and excavations of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals.

Several contracts have been let for the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, and considerable progress has been made on some of the sections of this gigantic undertaking. Large quantities of steel rails have been purchased and laid down at convenient depôts for distribution; but the commercial policy of the Government in their purchase has been made the subject of severe criticism. That policy, however, was sustained by a large majority of the House. Telegraphic and postal communication along the projected line of railway, and in the newer portions of the Dominion, has been greatly extended, and will contribute in a very large degree to the facilitation of business.

The stringency of the money market continued with slight abatement throughout the summer, and the manu-

facturing and other industries of the country suffered considerable depression. The restriction of importation, and a harvest on the whole of an average yield, will probably greatly relieve the financial pressure.

The United States Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia attracted large numbers of Canadian visitors. The position occupied by Canada in that great industrial congress of the nations, was in the highest degree creditable to the skill and energy of her people, and was to multitudes an unexpected revelation of the extent and magnificence of her resources. Foremost of the provinces in variety, richness and beauty of exhibits, was Ontario. Its educational department especially—with one exception, perhaps, by far the best in the vast palace of industry—challenged universal attention and admiration. It is just ground for patriotic pride, that in this highest outcome of civilization our country takes the lead of the world, and far surpasses many countries much older and richer in material wealth.

The mechanical industries and manufactures of Canada also commanded wide recognition, and in some cases extensive patronage. Among the foreign patrons were Turkish purchasers of large amounts of iron manufactures, notwithstanding the domestic convulsions and revolt of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire. There is also the prospect of trade relations being established with the British colonies of the antipodes, the Australian commissioners having opened communication, for the furtherance of that object, with the principal Boards of Trade of the Dominion.

In the month of August their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Dufferin and suite, made a visit to the province of British Columbia by way of the American Pacific Railway. They were received with demonstrations of loyal enthusiasm in the westernmost province of the Dominion, and were impressed with the sublimity of its scenery, the extent and importance of its vast natural resources, and the magnificent promise of its future.

Here, then, closes our necessarily brief and imperfect survey of the history of Canada. If the review of the blended romance and chivalry of its early years; of the heroic valour of its wars of self-defence against a power-

ful foe; of the gradual development of those principles of constitutional liberty and responsible government which the English-speaking race has everywhere striven to acquire; of the grand expansion of its territory and growth of its power in the recent past; of the boundless possibilities of its future;—if these shall kindle in the hearts of our readers an intelligent patriotism, a glowing affection for the noble country which is theirs, an unconquerable resolve to cherish its best interests—to promote its material, intellectual and moral progress, to live worthy of the goodly inheritance they have received from the pioneer fathers and founders of Canada—the brave men who died and the wise men who grandly lived for it—,to hand down to generations yet unborn the unsullied record of a noble Christian nation—this book shall not have been written in vain.

PRONUNCIATION OF PROPER NAMES.*

<i>Abenakis</i> . . .	Ab-en-a'h-kuis.	<i>Champlain</i> . . .	Shaun ^s -plan ^s .
<i>Acadie</i> , or	} A'k-ah-dee, or	<i>Charlevoix</i> . . .	Char-le-vo-â.
<i>Acadia</i> . .		<i>Chauncey</i> . . .	Chahn-se'.
<i>Aix-la-Cha-</i>	} Aiks-lah-shape'l.	<i>Chippewa</i> . . .	Chip'-pe-waw.
<i>pelle</i>		<i>Chouagen</i> . . .	Shou-a'-gen.
<i>Algonquin</i> . . .	Al-gōn ^s -kan ^s .	<i>Chrysler</i> . . .	Kris-lier.
<i>Assiniboine</i> . .	} Ass-in-ib-wawn	<i>Cockburn</i> . . .	Ko'-burn.
		<i>Contreœur</i> . .	Kōn ^s -tr-ke'ur.
<i>Aubry</i>	O'-bree.	<i>Courcelles</i> . .	Koor-se'll.
<i>Baudet</i>	Bō-day.	<i>Coueurs du</i> }	Koo-reu'r du
<i>Béarne</i>	Bay-ārn.	<i>Bois</i> }	bwaw.
<i>Beaubassin</i> . .	Bo-bass-a'n ^s .	<i>Coutume de</i> }	Koo-tu'md-pah-
<i>Beauharnois</i> .	Bo-har-nwa'w.	<i>Paris</i> . . . }	re'e.
<i>Beauport</i> . . .	Bo-po're.	<i>Crève Cœur</i> . .	Krave Keur.
<i>Beauséjour</i> . .	Bo-say-zho'or.	<i>Cuvillier</i> . . .	Ku-veel-yay.
<i>Bécancourt</i> . .	Bay-kan ^s -koor.	<i>Dablon</i>	Dah-blōn ^s .
<i>Benoit</i>	Ben-waw.	<i>Dauversiere</i> . .	Do-vair-se-ai'r.
<i>Biencourt</i> . . .	Be-an ^s -koor.	<i>D'Aiguillon</i> . .	Dāy-gee-yōn ^s .
<i>Boerstler</i> . . .	Burst-ler.	<i>D'Ailleboust</i> . .	Dāl-boo.
<i>Bouganville</i> . .	Boo-gan ^s -vee'l.	<i>D'Argenson</i> . .	Dar-zhahn ^s -sōn ^s .
<i>Bouquet</i>	Boo-ka'y.	<i>D'Aulnay</i> . . .	Do'-nay.
<i>Bourdon</i>	Boor-dōn ^s .	<i>D'Avaugour</i> . .	Dah-vo-goo'r.
<i>Bourlamaque</i> .	Boor-lah-ma'hk.	<i>Dearborn</i> . . .	Deer-burn.
<i>Burgoyne</i> . . .	Bur-goin.	<i>De Bienville</i> . .	Dū Be-an ^s -veel.
<i>Cabot</i>	Kab-ot.	<i>De Caen</i>	Dū Kahn ^s .
<i>Cahiague</i> . . .	Ka-e-ā-gu.	<i>De Chastes</i> . .	Dū Shast.
<i>Callières</i> . . .	Kal-e-air.	<i>De Guast</i> . . .	Dū Gah.
<i>Canceau</i> , or	} Kahn ^s -so', or	<i>De Monts</i> . . .	Dū Mon ^s .
<i>Canso</i> }		<i>De Silleri</i> . . .	Dū Sill-er-y.
<i>Carignan</i> . . .	Kar-een-yahn ^s .	<i>Denys</i>	Day-nee.
<i>Salières</i> . . }	Sah-le-ai'r.	<i>Deschamps</i> . .	Day-shahn ^s .
<i>Carillon</i> . . .	Kar-ee-yon ^s .	<i>Des Meules</i> . .	Day-meul.
<i>Cartier</i> . . . }	Kar-te-ay,	<i>D'Hertel</i> . . }	Dair-tell,
<i>Jacques</i> . . }	Zhak.	<i>(Rouville)</i> . }	(Roo-veel).
<i>Cataracoui</i> . .	Kat-ar-ā-koo-ě.	<i>D'Iberville</i> . .	Dee-bair-ve'el.
<i>Caughnawaga</i>	Kaw-naw-wāgā.	<i>Dieskau</i>	Dee-e's-ko.
<i>Cayugas</i>	Kay-yu-gahs.	<i>Dinwiddie</i> . .	Din-wi'ddy.
		<i>Druillettes</i> . .	Dru-ee-ye't.

* In the pronunciations given, the letters and syllables are to have their ordinary English sound, with these exceptions, viz., u and eu, in *italics*, denote the corresponding French sounds, which have no exact English equivalent: ā represents the short sound of the French e, somewhat like u in *but*; n^s denotes the French nasal sound; g everywhere denotes the *hard* sound of that letter, as in *go*; zh denotes the sound of z in *azure*.

Duchesneau .. Du-shen-o'.
Dupuys Du-pwe'e.
Du Plessis... Du Pless-e'e.
Du Quesne ... Du Kai'n.
Dulac des } Dulak dais
Ormeaux.. } Ormō.
Durantye Du-van-tī:
Fontainebleau. Fōn^s-tain-blo'.
Gabarus Gab-ah-roo's.
Galissonnière } Gal-eēs-ons-ne-
 } air.
Genessee..... Jen-ē-se'e.
Ghent Gahn^s.
Gruyard Gru-e-yar.
Hebert A-bai'r.
Hennepin Hen-nē-pan^s.
Hochelaga... Ho-sh-la'h-gah.
Iroquois Ee-ro-quaw.
Isle aux Noix. Eel-ō-nwaw.
Joliet Jo-li-et.
Jonquière Zhōn^s-kee-a'ir.
Jumonville ... Zhu-mōn^s-ve'el.
Kondiaronk.. Kon-de-ar-o'nk.
Labrador... Lab-rah-do're.
Lachine..... Lah-shee'n.
Lafontaine .. Lah-fon^s-tain.
Lallemant... Lahl-ma'hⁿ^s.
Lauson Lo-zōn^s.
Lescarbot Lay-kar-bo.
Levi Lev-ee.
Longueuil ... Lōn^s-gen'-ee.
Loyola Loi-o'-lah.
Macomb Ma-koom.
Maisonneuve.. Ma'y-sōn^s-neu'v.
Manitou Ma'n-it-oo.
Marquette ... Mar-ket.
Meigs Meegs.
Mercier Mair-se-ay.
Mesnard May-na'r.
Mesny Ma'y-zee.
Mononga- } Mo-non-ga-hee'.
hela..... } lah.
Montagnais .. Mōn^s-ta'n-yay.

Montcalm... Mōn^s-kahm.
Montmagny.. Mōn^s-ma'n-ye.
Montmorency } Mōn^s-mo-rahⁿ^s-
 } se.
Narragansetts Narra-ga'n-sets.
Nemisceau ... Nem-e-so'.
Norembegue.. Nor-em-bay-gu.
Oneidas..... O-nī'-dahs.
Onondagas... On-on-daw-gahs.
Pakenham... Pāk'n-am.
Perrot Pair-ro'.
Pontgravé... Pōn^s-grah-va'y.
Pontiac Pon'-te-ac.
Pouchot..... Poo-sho'.
Poutrincourt.. Poo-trahⁿ^s-koor.
Presqu'isle... Press-ke'el.
Prevost..... Prā'v-o.
Prideaux Prid'o.
Rasles Rahl.
Recollet..... Ru-koll-a'y.
Recouvrance.. Ru-koo-vra'hⁿ^s-ss.
Reusselaer ... Ren-se-lur.
Richelieu Reesh-le-eu.
Saskatchewan. Sas-ka'tch-e-wan
Sault Ste. } Sō-sanst-
 Marie... } mah-re'e.
Schultz Shoolts.
Schuyler Sky'-ler.
Senecas..... Se'n-e-kahs.
Sioux See-oo.
Ste. Foye Sanst-fwaw.
St. Pierre... Saint Pe-are'.
Stadaconé... Stad-ah-ko-nay.
Stuyvesant... Stī'-ve-sant.
Tecumseh.... Te-cum'-sū.
Utrecht..... You-trekt.
Vaudreuil... Vo-dreu'-ee-ye.
Ventadour... Vahn^s-tah-doo'r.
Verazzani... Vay-rah-za'h-nee
Vespucci, } Ves-poot-chee,
 (Amerigo) } (Ah-may-ree'-go)
Wyandot Wy-an-do't.

INDEX.

- Abercrombie, Lord, 85, 90.
Abraham, Plains of, 93, 99.
Acadians, Expulsion of, 81, 82.
Acadie Colonized, 27.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 74.
Alabama, The, 242.
Alabama Claims, 285, 286, 288.
America, Discovery of, 9-12; origin of name, 12; whence peopled, 19.
American Revolution, 108-112.
American War of 1811-15; causes of, 125-127; effects of, 141, 148-151.
American Civil War, 235; effects on Canada, 240.
Amherst, General, 93.
Amnesty, Red River, 301.
Annapolis, 68.
Anti-Confederation movement, 261, 266.
Arbitration, Geneva, 288.
Arnold, Colonel, 109; besieges Quebec, 110, 111.
Aroostook war, 185.
Arthur, Sir George, 179.
Ashburton Treaty, 185.
Assiniboia, Council of, 274.
Aylmer, Lord, 164.
- Bagot, Sir Charles, 193.
Baldwin, Robert, 161, 193, 195, 230.
Barre, M. de la, 57.
Beauharnois, Marquis de, 72.
Beau Séjour Fort, 81.
Beaver Dams, Exploit at, 136.
Berlin Decree, 125.
"Better Terms" given Nova Scotia, 267.
Bigot, M., 76; his villainy, 87; his fall, 103.
Blake, Edward, 287, and *note*.
Boulton, Major, at Red River, 279.
Boundary Disputes, 155, 185.
Bourlemaque, 93.
Braddock, General, 76.
Brébeuf, 34, 38; his martyrdom, 39.
British Columbia, 282, 286, 308.
British North America Act, 262-264.
Brock, General, Governor of Upper Canada, 120; captures General Hull, 128; death of, 129; his monument, 189.

- Brown, George, 226 ; forms cabinet, 229 ; his "joint authority" resolutions, 232 ; enters coalition ministry, 244.
 Brown, John, Death of, 231.
 Burgoyne, Surrender of, 112.

 Cabots, The, 13.
 Caens, De, 31.
 Callières, 60, 67.
 Canada, Discovery of, 15 ; origin of name, 27 (*note*) ; conquest of, 99, 105 (*see* War of 1812-15) ; Canada Trade Act, 158 ; Rebellion in, 168-169 ; defence of, 238 ; Dominion of, 260 *et seq.*
 "Canada First" Party, 296.
 Canada Pacific Railway, 289, 290, 298, 307.
 Canals, 159, 161.
 Carignan Regiment, 46, 48.
 Carillon, 80 ; fall of, 94.
 Carleton, Sir Guy, 106, 110-112 ; Lord Dorchester, 115 ; leaves Canada, 123.
 Caroline, Destruction of the, 177, 189.
 Cartier, Jacques, 14 ; explores St. Lawrence, 15 ; winters at Quebec, 16.
 Cartier, Sir George E., Death of, 291.
 Cathcart, General, 196.
Censitaires, 48, 218.
 Census, 235, 289.
 Centennial Exhibition, Canada at the, 309.
 Champlain, Samuel de, 26-34 ; founds Quebec, 27 ; discovers Lake Champlain and explores the Ottawa, 28 ; discovers Lakes Huron, Simcoe, and Ontario, 29, 30 ; war with Senecas, 30 ; surrenders to Kirk, 32 ; returns to Canada, 33 ; death, *ib.*
 Charlevoix, Father, 71.
 Charlottetown Conference, 245.
 Chateauguay, Battle of, 140.
 Chauncey, Commodore, 131, 134, 137.
 Chauvin founds Tadousac, 26.
 Chesapeake, The, taken, 142.
 Chippewa, Battle of, 145.
 Chrysler's Farm, Battle of, 139.
 Clergy Reserves, 160, 189, 217.
 Coalition Ministry, 217, 221, 244.
 Colbert, 44.
 Colborne, 161 ; suppresses rebellion, 166, 167.
 Columbus, Christopher, 10-12.
 Commission, Joint High, 236.
 Commune, The, 284.
 Company of the Hundred Associates, 32, 36, 37, 44.
 Confederation proposed, 245 ; adopted, 247 ; accomplished, 261-264.
 Congress, Continental, 109, 111.
 Conquest of Canada, 101 ; effects of, 102, 104, 105.
 Constitutional Act, 114.
 Constitution of Canada, 262-264.

- Courcelles, M. de, 46.
Coueurs de Bois, 49.
Coutume de Paris, 45.
 Craig, Sir James, 124.
 Crimean War, 219, 220, 222.
 Crown Point, 72, 80, 111.

 D'Ailleboust, M., 42.
 Dalhousie, Earl of, 152, 153.
 Daniel, Father, murdered, 39.
 D'Argenson, 42.
 Dates of Early settlements, 24 (*note*).
 D'Avaugour, 43.
 Dead-Lock, political, 244.
 Dearborn, General, routed at Lacolle, 130 ; at York, 134 ; beleagured in Fort George, 136.
 Deerfield, Massacre of, 67.
 Dennis, Colonel, at Fort Erie, 155, 156 ; at Red River, 278.
 Denonville, M. De, 57.
 Detroit, founded, 67 ; Pontiac at, 104 ; captured by Brock, 128.
 D'Iberville, 64, 65.
 Dieskau, Defeat of, 80.
 Donnacona, 15.
 Dorchester, Lord, 115.
 "Double Majority," 192 ; abandoned, 225.
 "Double Shuffle," The, 230.
 Douglas, Lord, 270-274.
 Drake, 25.
 Drummond, General, 145, 151.
 Dufferin, Lord, 288, 292, 293, 299, 308.
 Durham, Lord, 167 ; his Report, 186.

 Earthquake in Canada, 43.
 Education in Canada, 197, 308.
 Egg Islands, Catastrophe at, 69.
 Elgin, Lord, 196 ; mobbed, 203, 204 ; resigns, 219.
 Erie, Fort, Battle of, 146.
 Erie, Lake, Battle on, 138.

 "Family Compact," The, 157, 161.
 Fenians, The, 252 ; invasion of, 254 ; repulse of, 255 ; trials, 261 ; last raids of, 281, 282.
 Fitzgibbon, Lieut., Gallant exploit of, 136.
 Five Nations, The, 23.
 Franco-Prussian war, 284.
 French Town surprised, 133.
 Frobisher, 25.
 Frontenac, 51 ; second administration of, 60 ; death of, 68.
 Frontenac, Fort, 51, 53, 91.
 Fugitive slave extradition, 234.
 Fur Companies, Rival, 268 *et seq.*
 Fur trade, 49, 70, 71, 268 *et seq.*

- Gallows Hill, Fight at, 175.
 Gavazzi Riots, 213.
 Geneva Arbitration, 288.
 George, Battles of Lake, 87, 90.
 Ghent, Treaty of, 148.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 25, 26.
 Gore, Francis, Governor of Upper Canada, 119 ; returns, 156.
 Gosford, Lord, 164.
 Gourlay, Robert, 157.
 Griffin, The, 53, 54.
 Guibord Riots, 303.

 Haldimand, General, 112.
 Halifax founded, 75 ; in war time, 124, 154.
 Hampton, General, 140.
 Head, Sir Edmund, 221.
 Head, Sir Francis, 162, 170 ; awaits rebellion, 171 ; resigns, 178.
 Hennepin, Father, 54.
 Henry, Captain, 126.
 Hertel, Rouville, 61.
 Hincks, Francis, 194, 289.
 Hochelaga, 15.
 Howe, Joseph, 184, 261, 266, 267, 291.
 Howe, Lord, Death of, 90.
 Hudson, Henry, 27 (*note*).
 Hudson's Bay Company, 268 *et seq.*
 Hudson's Bay Territory, 268 ; ceded to Canada, 277.
 Hull, General, surrenders, 128.
 Hundred Associates, The, 31, 36, 37, 44.
 Hunter, Major General, 118.
 "Hunters' Lodges," 179.
 Huntingdon, Mr., Charges of, 290, 293.
 Huron Missions, 38, 41.

 Immigration, Large, 164, 200.
 Indians : origin of name, 18 ; the mound builders, 18, 19 ; characteristics, 19 ; dress, 20 ; wars, 21 ; tribes, 22, 23 ; present locations, 23. *See* Hurons, Iroquois, etc.
 Intendant, The, 44.
 Iroquois, 23 ; wars with, 27, 29, 47, 57 ; incursions of, 39, 41, 58, 63.

 Jesuits in Canada, 31, 37 ; missions of, 39 ; explorers, 51.
 Johnson, Sir William, 79, 80, 93, 105.
 "Joint Authority Resolutions," 232.
 Joliet, 52.
 Jonquière, M. de la, 74, 76.
 Judges, Appointment of, 264.
 Jumonville, M., 76.

Kebeça Liberata, 62.
 Kempt, Sir James, 164.

Kirk, Admiral, captures Quebec, 32.
Kondiarak, the Rat, 58.

Lachine, Massacre of, 53.

Lalemant, Father, 39.

La Salle, 53 ; his explorations, 54 ; death, 55.

Lauson, 42.

Laval, 42.

League, British North American, 202.

Legislatures, Dominion, 262, 263 ; local, 264.

Lepine, 300, 301.

Levi, 94, 101.

Lincoln, Death of, 248.

Loudon, Lord, 85, 86.

Louisburg founded, 69 ; siege of, 73, 74 ; second siege, 89.

Lower Canada, Organization of, 123 ; civil strife in, 129, 143, 151 ; Rebellion in, 163.

Loyalists, United Empire, 113.

Lundy's Lane, Battle of, 145, 146.

Macdonald, Colonel, 129.

Macdonald, J. Sandfield, 287.

Macdonald, Sir John A., 223 ; resigns Government, 294.

Macdougall, Hon. William, at Red River, 277.

Mackenzie, Hon. Alexander, 296, and *note*.

Mackenzie, William Lyon, 160 ; rebels, 162 ; attacks Toronto, 173 ; at Navy Island, 177.

Maisonneuve, 37.

Maitland, Sir Peregrine, 151, 158.

Manitoba Act, 280, 306.

Marquette, Father, 52.

McGee, T. D'Arcy, 228 ; shot, 266.

McLean's Sedition, 124.

McNab, Col., in rebellion, 175, 177.

Meigs, Fort, Siege of, 138.

Metcalf, Sir Charles, 194.

Miramichi, Great fire of, 154.

Missions, Huron, 38 ; destruction of, 39, 40 ; Onondaga, 41.

Monck, Lord, 237, 266.

Monroe Doctrine, 260.

Montcalm, Marquis de, 84, 86, 88 ; death of, 99.

Montgomery, Colonel, 110, 111.

Montmagny, 36.

Montmorency, Fight at, 96.

Montreal named, 15 ; founded, 37 ; Iroquois deputies at, 66 ; surrender of, 101 ; riots at, 166, 203, 204, 214.

Monts, Des, 26, 28.

Moodie, Colonel, killed, 174.

Moravian Town, Battle of, 138.

Mound-Builders, The, 18, 19.

Mounted Police, The, 302.

Municipal Institutions, 192, 211.

Murray, General, at Quebec, 100 ; Military Governor, 103, 105.

- Navy Island, 177.
 Nelson, Robert, 169.
 Nelson, Wolfred, 166.
 New Brunswick, 125 ; Organization of Government, 154 ; great fire in, 154 ; Crown land grievances, 183 ; anti-Confederate, 247, 248 ; School-law troubles, 304-306.
 New England Colonies, 36.
 Newfoundland Discovered, 13 ; fisheries, 14, 25.
 New Orleans, Battle of, 148.
 Niagara, Fort, captured from the French, 93 ; seat of Government (Newark), 116 ; captured by Americans, 135 ; burned, 141.
 Norsemen, The, 9.
 North-west Company, 269.
 North-west Territory, 280.
 Nova Scotia, charter granted, 33 ; government organized, 107 ; in war time, 124, 154 ; "Family Compact" in, 184 ; anti-Confederate, 246, 266 ; "Better terms" granted, 267.
 Oaths Bill, 290, 293.
 Odelltown, Fight at, 144, 169.
 Ogdensburg captured, 133.
 Ohio Company, 76.
 Onondaga Mission, 41.
 Ormeaux, Dulac des, 41.
 Oswego taken, 85, 144.
 Ottawa selected as capital, 229 ; becomes seat of Government, 249.
 "Pacific Scandal," The, 290-294.
 Pakenham, General, at New Orleans, 148.
 Papineau, Louis, 152, 164, 165.
 Paris, Peace of, 104.
 Parliament Building at Montreal Burned, 203.
 Parliament, First of United Canadas, 191, 192 ; first of Dominion, 265.
 Parr Town, 113.
 "Patriot" War, 175-182.
 Peltrie, Madame de la, 37.
 Pepperell, William, captures Louisburg, 73, 74.
 Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, 134.
 Phipps, Sir William, attacks Quebec, 62.
 Pilgrimage Riots at Toronto, 303.
 Pitt, William, 84, 89, 92, 103.
 Plattsburg, Attacks on, 140, 147.
 Pontiac, Conspiracy of, 104, 105.
 Port Royal founded, 27 ; captured, 68.
 Prescott, General, 123.
 Prevost, Sir George, 124, 134 ; at Sackett's Harbour, 137 ; retreat from Plattsburg, 147.
 Prince Edward Island, 107 ; enters the Dominion, 292.
 Prince Albert, Death of, 238.

Prince of Wales in Canada, 232-234.

Privy Council, First, 265.

Proctor, Col., at French Town, 133; at Fort Meigs, 138; at Moravian Town, *Ib.*

Quebec founded, 27; origin of name, *Ib. (note)*; first capture, 32; restored, 33; besieged by Phipps, 62; Wolfe before, 95-98; fall of, 99; Quebec Act, 106; besieged by Montgomery, 110; fires, 196, 261; "Quebec scheme," 246.

Queenston Heights, Battle of, 129.

Quesne, Marquis du, 76; Fort, 79, 91.

Railways, 207, 209; Grand Trunk, 211; Canada Pacific, 289, 290, 298, 307.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 26.

Rasles, Father, 71.

Rebellion Losses Bills, 196, 201, 205.

Rebellion, The, 166—182.

Reciprocity Treaty, 207, 214, 250, 299.

Red River settlement founded, 270; conflicts, 271; privations, 272; disasters, 273; prosperity, 274; population, 275; Red River Expedition, 281; amnesty, 301.

Representation by Population, 225, 228.

Resolutions, The Ninety-two, 164; the Ten, 172.

Responsible government demanded, 161; conceded, 192, 206.

Richelieu, Cardinal, 32.

Richmond, Duke of, 151.

Ridgeway, Fight at, 255; martyrs of, 257.

Riel, Revolt of, 277; expelled from Parliament, 297.

Roberval, 16.

Rolph, Dr., 171, 173, 174.

Rupert's Land Act, 276.

Russell, Lord John, 172.

Ryerson, Rev. Dr., 197.

Ryswick, Peace of, 64.

Sackett's Harbour, Attack on, 137.

Salaberry, De, 140.

Salle, La, 53-55.

San Juan difficulty, 282, 286.

Schultz, Dr., 278.

Schultz, Von, 181.

Scott, Thomas, shot, 279. *See* 300.

Sea fights, 131, 142.

Secession, War of, 235, 238, 240, 248.

Secord, Mrs., Bravery of, 136.

Seigniorial Tenure, 48; abolished, 218.

Selkirk, Lord, 270-274.

Senate, The, 262.

Senecas, War with, 30; punished, 57.

Seven Years' War, 84.

Sheaffe, General, 129, 134.

- Sherbrooke, Sir John, 151.
 Simcoe, Governor, 116.
 Six Nations, The, 23. *See* Iroquois, etc.
 Smythe, General, 130.
 Spanish explorations, 24, 25.
 Stadacona, 15.
 Stamp Act, 109.
 Ste. Foye, Battle of, 100.
 Stoney Creek, Battle of, 135.
 Strachan, Rev. Dr., 159.
 St. German-en-Laye, Treaty of, 33.
 St. John Founded, 113.
 Southern Raiders, 244.
 Supreme Council, The, 45.
 Sydenham, Lord, 189, 192, 193.

 Talon, M., 46.
 Tecumseh, 138.
 Ten Resolutions, The, 172.
 Thompson, Hon. Charles, 187. *See* Lord Sydenham.
 Thorpe, Judge, 119.
 Ticonderoga, Attacks on, 80, 90 ; fall of, 94.
 Times, The, on Canada, 288.
 Toronto founded, 117 ; captured, 134, 137 ; attacked by rebels, 173.
 Tracy, Marquis de, 46, 47.
 Trent Affair, The, 137, 138.

 Union Scheme, 152, 158, 187 ; Union Act, 188 ; Union accomplished, 191.
 United Empire Loyalists, 113.
 Upper Canada, Settlement of, 113 ; early legislation, 115, 118 ; origin of parties in, 119 ; early condition of, 120-122 ; "Family Compact" in, 157 ; grievances of, 158 ; development of, 159 ; rebellion in, 170, 182 ; union with Lower Canada, 183, 191, 192 ; military strength of, 187.
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 69.

 Vancouver's Island, 282, 283.
 Vaudreuil, Marquis de, 67, 72.
 Versailles, Peace of, 113.
 Vespucci, 12.
 Victoria Bridge, 232.
 Vincent, Colonel, 135.
 Virginia, Settlement of, 35.

 Wampum, 21.
 War of 1812-15, Causes of, 125, 127 ; effects of, 141, 148, 151.
 Washington burned, 148 ; Treaty of, 286.
 Washington, George, 76, 79, 111.
 West India Company, 45, 49.
 Wilkinson, General, 139 ; defeated at Odelltown, 144.

William Henry, Fort, Massacre of, 86, 87.

Wilmot, Hon. L. A., 184.

Windmill Point, Battle of, 180.

Wolfe, General, 89, 92 ; before Quebec, 95 ; slain, 99.

Wolseley, Colonel, 281, 300.

Yeo, Sir James, 136, 137.

York founded, 117 ; captured, 134 ; second capture, 137.

Young, Rev. George, at Red River, 279.

Young, Sir John, 266, 288.

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